



DON QUIXOTE

*by Miguel de Cervantes*

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

THE REPUBLIC

*by Plato*

THE CANTERBURY TALES

*by Geoffrey Chaucer*

Including

*The Cask of Amontillado*

BY EDGAR ALLAN POE

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S

*Letter of Application to the Duke of Milan*

EMILE ZOLA'S

*Denunciation of the Conspiracy  
Against Dreyfus*



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CONDENSATIONS



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*Each Home Course Appreciation precedes its work.*

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM SHARP



# DON QUIXOTE

(Part One)

*by*

*Miguel de Cervantes*

TRANSLATED BY

*John Ormsby*

A CONDENSATION



NOTE: *The editor's summaries of various omitted passages appear in brackets throughout the text.*



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## HOME COURSE APPRECIATION

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**D**ON QUIXOTE HAS BECOME SUCH AN important part of our literary heritage that almost everyone knows something about him. From a first childhood encounter, we recall the laughable old codger who thinks he is a knight-errant, who fights windmills and sheep, rescues maidens who don't want to be rescued, stabs bulging wine-skins until the floors run red with "blood," and is himself beaten and belabored mercilessly as he seeks to redress imaginary wrongs. With him is his "squire," the pot-bellied peasant Sancho Panza, who follows his master with protests checked only by his selfish desires. Sancho, for all his trouble, is handled just as roughly throughout the journey.

This is the well-known comic side of the story. The wit is so varied—ranging from the subtlest satire to the broadest burlesque—that it has been copied in countless other works of humorous literature. How much the later writers of mock-epic—Fielding or Swift—owe to Cervantes!

Still, there is another tone that cannot escape us. There is something profoundly—even religiously—touching about the mad "hero" of this novel, who has consecrated himself to the ideal of serving humanity. It is not hard to see how some people might think that *Don Quixote* is one of the saddest books ever written. John Ruskin, a brilliant writer of nineteenth-century England, thought it touched the depths of tragedy.

This attitude may seem extreme; but still, it is saddening to see how pure dedication to an ideal of virtue (however mad it may be) is mocked and reviled until it is destroyed—until, at the end, the visionary himself, world-weary in body and spirit, renounces his ideals and dies with no further will to live.

We may be carried along by a mood of hilarity, but gradually we

find ourselves drawn under the spell of the old knight's fanatical dedication and the squire's ultimate trust in him. Then slowly we begin to feel uncomfortable—even incensed—about the indignities that are heaped upon the two adventurers. For the truth is, we have begun to see that in every one of us there is—or was—a precious bit of Don Quixote. Who in his youth did not dream impossible dreams and cherish magical hopes, only to be chastened by “cold facts?” How many illusions of mankind have been mangled by “practical” men who could not imagine things being different from what they are?

### DON QUIXOTE DEFEATS CERVANTES?

But let us pause a moment: Cervantes says at the start that he intends “to arouse contempt for all fabulous and absurd stories of knight-errantry.” Yet what has his mad old knight done, but led us straight into a wonderful pageant of chivalry? No wonder Ruskin was so distressed by this conflict between the author and the character he had created. “*Don Quixote* always affected me throughout to tears,” said Ruskin. “It was always throughout real chivalry to me; it is precisely because the most touching valor and tenderness were rendered vain by madness . . . and because all true chivalry is thus by implication accused of madness.”

But this view may be somewhat gloomy, as well as imprecise. In Part One, the mad Don Quixote towers above all the sane people in the book with a grandeur unsurpassed. The more the author heaps indignity and ridicule upon the valiant warrior, the more lustrous he becomes. Yet we must think of him both as a hero and as a fool. His moral code, though misdirected, is still more profound than that of any other character we encounter. And so, we think of Quixote's archaic chivalry as the best guide for conduct.

Yet Cervantes never lets us forget that Quixote *is* mad, that he is single-minded. Like Sancho who relies on homely platitudes—the ready-made deceptive wisdom of the ages—Quixote has only a single point of reference by which he must judge all things. Unfortunately for him, “chivalry is dead.”

Later on, Quixote moves slowly toward sanity, just as Sancho becomes a bit more penetrating in his view of the world around him. But although a perception of reality helps Sancho to deal more wisely with his fellow men, this same perception destroys Don Quixote, who has no use for a working knowledge of everyday life.

Thus at the end when Quixote realizes that his cause was futile, he

renounces chivalry forever, even though he knows that his illusions are nobler than any others he encountered on his travels. After this renunciation, he can no longer be a hero—or even a dreamer. And since he can never, like Sancho, live a sane happy life, he dies.

### DON QUIXOTE AND SPAIN

HOW MUCH LIKE DON QUIXOTE was the Spain which produced him! For a long time Spain, with nobility and courage, had upheld the causes of Christianity and chivalry. With courtliness and pomp, she had become the greatest power on earth, dominant in Europe through the Hapsburgs who ruled Spain, Italy, Germany and The Netherlands. Across the seas, there was a vast New World. Her army and navy sought to impose her will widely abroad while at home great mystics inflamed minds and the Inquisition tried to preserve the traditional nature of things.

It was Spain's Golden Age; but she overreached herself. Her pride, her zeal, her consciousness of a mission were exhausting her resources. The modern world was taking its shape, but Spain, grandiose and impractical, could not rouse herself from her medieval dream-world of knight-errantry. And, as Aubrey F. G. Bell puts it, in his excellent book, *Cervantes*: "The external splendor was crystallizing around emptiness. Spain, like Don Quixote, was paying the penalty for the presumption of a magnificent and in many ways noble but certainly fatal excess." But unlike Quixote, she never died sane; she lingered on, still clinging to her illusions.

Cervantes himself took part in two historic events. He was gallant in the conquest of the Turks at Lepanto in 1571; and he took humble part in the crushing defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Since he draws from much of his own experience in *Don Quixote*, it is interesting to learn something about his life.

### CERVANTES' CHILDHOOD

He was born more than four hundred years ago, in the small Spanish university town of Alcala de Henares, twenty miles from Madrid. The exact date is not known, but we do know that on October 9, 1547, in the church of Santa Maria la Mayor, he was baptized Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.

Miguel's father, a traveling apothecary-surgeon, belonged to a fine old family that had seen better days; but now, a poor man, he made a precarious living by cupping and blistering. The family seldom



stayed long in one place, moving from city to city as the father searched for patients. Traveling so, the son undoubtedly received a liberal and realistic "education," lodging in wayside inns and visiting market places. The boy presumably managed to get some formal schooling somewhere and did a good deal of reading, but we really know very little else of his first twenty-one years.

### CERVANTES THE SOLDIER

IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN that by 1566, when he was nineteen, he was in Madrid, because two years later he wrote a series of elegies on the death of the queen. After 1569, he traveled in Italy as a valet of Giulio Acquaviva, the brilliant cardinal. We do know that he enlisted in the army in 1570, and in 1571 he took part as a private in the great naval battle at Lepanto, when the European ambitions of the Turks were finally crushed.

It is at this point that we begin to feel that some jinx ruled over Cervantes' life. What merely brushed other men always hit Cervantes; where others might have been blessed with success, he seems always doomed to failure; and in his profession, the writing he least esteemed turned out to be his greatest work, while he went into agonies over hopeless poems and plays.

On October 7, 1571, at Lepanto, for instance, we find him ill with a fever, but he refused to let this keep him below decks. To die in the service of God and the King, he declared, was preferable to remaining under cover. Gallantly he went into battle—and promptly received three gunshot wounds, two in the chest and one which shattered his left hand. As a result, his left hand was permanently maimed but, Cervantes insisted, the injury occurred for "the greater glory" of his right hand. The crippled hand did not send him home from the wars, however. All together he campaigned for five years until, in 1575, he was granted leave to return to Spain. From his commander, Don John of Austria, and from the Duke of Sessa, Viceroy of Italy, he carried letters commending him to King Philip of Spain. True to form, these letters did him more harm than good.

### DUNGEONS AND CHAINS IN ALGIERS

Cervantes embarked for Spain across the Mediterranean, but his ship was captured by pirates, and he was taken to Algiers. The letters in his pocket proved a disadvantage, for they gave his captors an exaggerated opinion of his importance, and the ransom for his release



“Look, your worship, what we see there  
are not giants but windmills. . . .”

was set at a much higher figure than it would have been otherwise.

Cervantes was at once confined to a dungeon in chains, but later on his captivity must have been eased for he found time to compose verses and to plot at least four unsuccessful escapes.

Through the years, Cervantes' family had made every effort to raise the ransom money, but even though they completely exhausted their own resources, they failed. For months it seemed likely that the young man would be transported to Constantinople, where the Bey was returning, and would die there in slavery. In the nick of time, however, two Christian brothers in Algiers contributed the balance of the ransom, and in 1580 Cervantes returned to Spain. He had been imprisoned five years, and his hair-raising experiences, confirmed from numerous sources, provided the future author of *Don Quixote* with vivid memories. But curiously enough he felt no bitterness.

#### CERVANTES THE STRUGGLING WRITER

CERVANTES RETURNED TO MADRID and the problems of earning a living. He had no craft except soldiering and sonnetteering. And so he began to write for the stage. Of the dozens of plays he wrote, the few that have come down to us indicate that Cervantes was singularly unsuited to be a playwright.

Despite his meager earnings, in 1584, at the age of thirty-seven he married a nineteen-year-old girl. She brought him a small dowry of five vines, one small orchard, some old furniture, four beehives, forty-five hens and one rooster. The marriage was not an unhappy one, but since Cervantes wandered widely, the two seem to have seen little of each other until the last ten years of their married life. In 1585 the couple set up house in Madrid with the small return he realized from the sale that same year of his first published work, *La Galatea*.

This work was composed in the imaginative, non-realistic style so favored at the time by the gentility—and which Cervantes himself loved. In sentimental verse and flowery prose, he described lovelorn shepherds and heartless shepherdesses living a simple, happy life in fairy tale settings. *La Galatea* brought Cervantes a measure of fame.

#### CERVANTES THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

It was becoming clear that he could not earn his bread by literature, and in 1587 he went to Seville where he obtained a position as a deputy for a man who was supplying provisions to the Invincible Armada of Philip II. But Cervantes did not forsake literature com-

pletely; he wrote an enthusiastic poem cheering the fleet to victory, and a more subdued one lamenting its defeat. Not long after Cervantes started his new job he was temporarily excommunicated for being somewhat too industrious in his wheat collections (he had confiscated stores belonging to the Dean of Seville Cathedral). After the defeat of the Armada he stayed on as a commissary to the galleys. His work kept him constantly on the move over the Andalusian countryside. He sought lodging where he could find it, and acquainted himself thoroughly with the life, speech and customs of the people.

On May 12, 1590, disgusted with drudgery, and with no hope of advancement, Cervantes petitioned the King for one of four posts then open in the American colonies. His application was refused. In November 1590 he was so poverty-stricken that he had to borrow money to buy himself a suit of clothes. The financial administration of the government was thoroughly demoralized and in 1591 he had still not been paid for 1588. He seems—understandably—to have lost interest in his work and was thereafter in constant trouble with the authorities.

In August 1592, his accounts were found to be irregular. He was thrown into prison for a short time, and then restored to his job, for there seems to be no question whatsoever about honesty. Later he “deposited” public funds with a Portuguese banker in Seville. The banker failed and fled; Cervantes, unable to make good the money, was suspended. At this point his financial situation became so desperate that he could not afford the fare to attend the hearings to which he was summoned, and again he was imprisoned. Ultimately, the money was recovered, but Cervantes was not restored to his post. We know almost nothing of the next few years. He may have been in prison once more in 1602, again on the charge of indebtedness to the state. And in 1605, shortly after Part One of *Don Quixote* was published, he and his family of four women were arrested and held on suspicion when a distinguished man was found murdered on their doorstep. They were soon released.

#### DON QUIXOTE IS BORN

**D**URING ALL THESE MISERIES Cervantes persevered in his writing. In 1592 he signed a contract to write six plays, but nothing seems to have come of it. In 1595 he won first prize—three silver spoons—for a poem in honor of St. Hyacinth. All his life he was possessed with the longing to be a poet—a gift, he said, Heaven had denied him.

*Don Quixote* seems to have been born when Cervantes was in the

depths of poverty. We know that certain elements of his life had prepared him for this creation. He had a great familiarity with the chivalric romances and a natural love for them; he had led a life of honorable but unrewarded service in war, government and literature; and he had an intimate knowledge of peasants, students, monks, vagabonds, beggars, pilgrims—all the motley world which wandered up and down the open roads of Spain. Cervantes had met the highest Spanish society, as well as travelers from far places. All these experiences fed his great talent for vividly recreating the language, characters and scenes of everyday life. It is even possible that on his "official" journeys into the back-country, he may have run across some impoverished old gentleman blissfully lost in a book of chivalry as his bony nag plodded along.

At any rate, from such vast experiences as these and from a wide range of reading came Cervantes' original purpose: to parody the exaggerated romances of chivalry and contrast their absurdities with the rough-and-tumble existence most people actually live. And so, *Don Quixote* was born.

It has been thought that the book was begun during one of Cervantes' imprisonments, for in the "Author's Preface" he says it is "just what might be begotten in a prison, where every misery is lodged and every doleful sound makes its dwelling." Modern scholars, however, tend to regard this as merely a figure of speech.

#### SUCCESS AT LAST—AND POVERTY ALWAYS

Early in 1605, within a few weeks of the publication of Part One of *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha* at Madrid, three pirated editions appeared in Portugal. It seems that Cervantes' publisher had so little faith in the novel that at first he did not bother to copyright it outside of Castile! Five Spanish editions were printed within a year and, except for one other work, no Spanish book of this period was so successful. The first English translation was completed in 1608 and published in 1612.

But Cervantes remained poor. Evidently he did not have much business sense and so the book brought him very little money. The author clearly did not like publishers. At one point *Don Quixote* is discussing the subject with a writer, who says: "What! Would your worship, then, have me give my book to a bookseller who will give me three farthings for the copyright and think he is doing me a favor in giving me that?"

## CERVANTES' LAST YEARS

PRACTICALLY NOTHING IS KNOWN of Cervantes' life between 1605 and 1608. We know that he spent the last eight years of his life in Madrid. Far from resigning himself to embittered old age, this heroic man then wrote more furiously than ever, with the eagerness of youth, surrounded by a circle of friends and admirers. Why his two patrons, the Count of Lemos and the Archbishop of Toledo, permitted him to remain in such wretched poverty is a mystery.

At the end of Part One of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes made vague promises that a second part would follow. The years went by, and he kept putting it off. But in 1614 he was working on the fifty-ninth chapter of the sequel—when suddenly a spurious Part Two appeared. Cervantes was infuriated. Not only was it shallow but it contained a nasty preface filled with insolent remarks about Cervantes' mutilated hand, his morals, his imprisonments and his age.

Outraged by this unknown pretender, Cervantes swung into action and quickly completed Part Two, which was published in 1615 when he was 68 years old. Although the last fourteen chapters are somewhat marred by intemperate remarks about the author of the spurious edition, it is on the whole a more mature and artistically better book than Part One.

It would be pleasant to write that Cervantes at last gained some sort of reward from his long-delayed masterpiece, but this did not happen. Though famous all over Europe, he died in poverty in Madrid on April 23, 1616. Only a few stray loiterers watched the funeral procession—and his grave was quickly forgotten.

## CERVANTES AS A PSYCHOLOGIST

NO MONUMENT TO CERVANTES could possibly equal the one which he himself constructed. According to the Spanish philosopher Madariaga, *Don Quixote* is greater today than ever before. Through three and a half centuries of human adventuring the book has continued to grow in stature.

Today we are more than ever impressed by Cervantes' extraordinary skill in the drawing of his characters. The central characters have become universal psychological types. And of the hundreds of other characters who wander in and out of the book, we remember many as genuine personalities.

The author is clearly aware of subtle psychological states—"the hidden thoughts of the soul"—and of the complexity of the human





“ . . drawn swords uplifted . . . would have split and cleft  
them . . . open like a pomegranate. . . .”



mind. Some critics go as far as to assert that Cervantes meant his book to be a study of delusion and madness. Naturally we are astonished by Cervantes' feeling for the way minds and personalities react to one another. Part Two is especially notable in this respect, for Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, who are directly opposite types, become more and more like each other; that is, Quixote becomes gradually more sane as Sancho becomes more idealistic.

Without this interplay, the book would have been a shallow affair, a string of droll reminders that one causes more mischief than good if he recklessly undertakes things he is not equipped to handle. Consider Don Quixote's first adventure after he is knighted by the inn-keeper. The Knight of the Rueful Countenance goes to the rescue of the unfortunate youth Andres who is being whipped by his cruel master. When the astonished farmer sees before him—straight out of the Middle Ages—a knight in full armor brandishing a lance, he naturally sets Andres free at once.

So Don Quixote, pleased with such an auspicious beginning, rides off with a feeling of satisfaction. His anger at the youth's situation is admirable, and he has acted quite logically; but unfortunately life is not so logical. Andres reappears in a later chapter and we find that as soon as the gallant knight's back was turned, Andres' master tied him again and this time flogged him nearly to death ". . . for all of which your lordship is to blame; for if you had gone your own way and not come where there was no call for you, nor meddled in other people's affairs, my master would have been content with giving me one or two dozen lashes, and would have then loosed me and paid me what he owed me. If you ever meet me again, though you may see them cutting me to pieces, give me no aid or succor, but leave me to my misfortune, which will not be so great but that a greater will come to me by being helped by your worship . . ." ✓

This anecdote is a good illustration of what we now call "quixotic"—that is, idealistic but impractical. But Cervantes seems to have seen the need for a counterbalancing type and so he introduced the all-too-practical Sancho Panza in Chapter Seven. From that point he works within a wider range with the Knight and the Squire bringing out in each other the imagination, the wisdom and the stupidities of mankind.

### THE ARTISTRY OF CERVANTES

Throughout the book, Cervantes offers us a magnificent variety of thoughts, episodes, characters and events down to the most detailed.

His style is almost like painting in words. Although he is not exactly a "landscape painter," still he does give us a vivid sense of place. In some ways he reminds us of those painters who show the ordinary life of the people. Cervantes gives us a wonderful pageant from which we can glean such minute details as the current prices and weights—or imagine the rustle of dresses, the clatter of carriages and the sound of the morning bells.

#### THE LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK

*Traduttore, traditore*: "Translator, traitor"—as the Italians say. Spanish people say that it is virtually impossible to render the real flavor of Cervantes' language into any other; the nuances of thought or the regional and personal differences of speech cannot be caught. Still, the entire world has perceived the greatness of the work, despite the language barrier. Our translation by John Ormsby is one of the best, for the translator ignored the spurious baroque elegance which came into vogue at a time when the book was regarded mainly as a gigantic work of tomfoolery.

This translation is rich in its varieties of language, and we enjoy, for example, the Knight's changes from everyday talk to chivalric talk. When he sets out for his first adventure he thinks of a future historian writing of his prowess, "The sage who writes it will do it after this fashion: 'Scarce had the rubicund Apollo spread o'er the face of the broad spacious earth the golden threads of his bright hair . . .'" and "' . . . the rosy Dawn, that, deserting the soft couch of her jealous spouse, was appearing to mortals at the gates and balconies of the Manchegan horizon . . .'" Quixote was saying in a poetic way, simply, "it is morning."

*Don Quixote* has been called "The Bible of Humanity." The reader will find its lessons and its riches inexhaustible.





## CHAPTER 1

IN A VILLAGE of La Mancha, the name of which I have no desire to call to mind, there lived not long since one of those gentlemen that keep a lance in the lance-rack, an old buckler, a lean hack, and a greyhound for coursing. An olla of rather more beef than mutton, a salad on most nights, scraps on Saturdays, lentils on Fridays, and a pigeon or so extra on Sundays, made away with three-quarters of his income. The rest of it went in a doublet of fine cloth and velvet breeches and shoes to match for holidays, while on week-days he made a brave figure in his best homespun. He had in his house a house-keeper past forty, a niece under twenty, and a lad for the field and market-place, who used to saddle the hack as well as handle the bill-hook. The age of this gentleman of ours was bordering on fifty, he was of a hardy habit, spare, gaunt-featured, a very early riser and a great sportsman. They will have it his surname was Quixada or Quesada (for here there is some difference of opinion among the authors who write on the subject), although from reasonable conjectures it seems plain that he was called Quixana. This, however, is of but little importance to our tale; it will be enough not to stray a hair's breadth from the truth in the telling of it.

You must know, then, that the above-named gentleman whenever he was at leisure (which was mostly all the year round) gave himself up to reading books of chivalry with such ardor and avidity that he almost entirely neglected the pursuit of his field-sports, and even the management of his property; and to such a pitch did his eagerness and

## *Miguel de Cervantes*

infatuation go that he sold many an acre of tillage-land to buy books of chivalry to read, and brought home as many of them as he could get.

Many an argument did he have with the curate of his village (a learned man, and a graduate of Sigüenza) as to which had been the better knight, Palmerin of England or Amadis of Gaul. Master Nicholas, the village barber, however, used to say that neither of them came up to the Knight of Phœbus, and that if there was any that could compare with *him* it was Don Galaor, the brother of Amadis of Gaul, because he had a spirit that was equal to every occasion, and was no finikin knight, nor lachrymose like his brother, while in the matter of valor he was not a whit behind him. In short, he became so absorbed in his books that he spent his nights from sunset to sunrise, and his days from dawn to dark, poring over them; and what with little sleep and much reading his brains got so dry that he lost his wits. His fancy grew full of what he used to read about in his books, enchantments, quarrels, battles, challenges, wounds, wooings, loves, agonies, and all sorts of impossible nonsense; and it so possessed his mind that the whole fabric of invention and fancy he read of was true, that to him no history in the world had more reality in it.

In short, his wits being quite gone, he hit upon the strangest notion that ever madman in this world hit upon, and that was that he fancied it was right and requisite, as well for the support of his own honor as for the service of his country, that he should make a knight-errant of himself, roaming the world over in full armor and on horseback in quest of adventures, and putting in practice himself all that he had read of as being the usual practices of knights-errant; righting every kind of wrong, and exposing himself to peril and danger from which, in the issue, he was to reap eternal renown and fame. Already the poor man saw himself crowned by the might of his arm Emperor of Trebizond at least; and so, led away by the intense enjoyment he found in these pleasant fancies, he set himself forthwith to put his scheme into execution.

The first thing he did was to clean up some armor that had belonged to his great-grandfather, and had been for ages lying forgotten in a corner eaten with rust and covered with mildew. He scoured and polished it as best he could, but he perceived one great defect in it, that it had no closed helmet, nothing but a simple morion. This deficiency, however, his ingenuity supplied, for he contrived a kind of half-helmet of pasteboard which, fitted on to the morion, looked like

## DON QUIXOTE

a whole one. It is true that, in order to see if it was strong and fit to stand a cut, he drew his sword and gave it a couple of slashes, the first of which undid in an instant what had taken him a week to do. The ease with which he had knocked it to pieces disconcerted him somewhat, and to guard against that danger he set to work again, fixing bars of iron on the inside until he was satisfied with its strength; and then, not caring to try any more experiments with it, he passed it and adopted it as a helmet of the most perfect construction.

He next proceeded to inspect his hack, which, with more quartos than a real and more blemishes than the steed of Gonela, that though it was only skin and bones, surpassed in his eyes the Bucephalus of Alexander or the Babieca of the Cid. Four days were spent in thinking what name to give him, because (as he said to himself) it was not right that a horse belonging to a knight so famous, and one with such merits of his own, should be without some distinctive name, and he strove to adapt it so as to indicate what he had been before belonging to a knight-errant, and what he then was; for it was only reasonable that, his master taking a new character, he should take a new name, and that it should be a distinguished and full-sounding one, befitting the new order and calling he was about to follow. And so, after having composed, struck out, rejected, added to, unmade, and remade a multitude of names out of his memory and fancy, he decided upon calling him Rocinante, a name, to his thinking, lofty, sonorous, and significant of his condition as a hack before he became what he now was, the first and foremost of all the hacks in the world.

Having got a name for his horse so much to his taste, he was anxious to get one for himself, and he was eight days more pondering over this point, till at last he made up his mind to call himself Don Quixote, whence, as has been already said, the authors of this veracious history have inferred that his name must have been beyond a doubt Quixada, and not Quesada as others would have it. Recollecting, however, that the valiant Amadis was not content to call himself curtly Amadis and nothing more, but added the name of his kingdom and country to make it famous, and called himself Amadis of Gaul, he, like a good knight, resolved to add on the name of his, and to style himself Don Quixote of La Mancha, whereby, he considered, he described accurately his origin and country, and did honor to it in taking his surname from it.

So then, his armor being furbished, his morion turned into a helmet, his hack christened, and he himself confirmed, he came to the conclu-

sion that nothing more was needed now but to look out for a lady to be in love with; for a knight-errant without love was like a tree without leaves or fruit, or a body without a soul. As he said to himself, "If, for my sins, or by my good fortune, I come across some giant hereabouts, a common occurrence with knights-errant, and overthrow him in one onslaught, or cleave him asunder to the waist, or, in short, vanquish and subdue him, will it not be well to have someone I may send him to as a present, that he may come in and fall on his knees before my sweet lady, and in a humble, submissive voice say, 'I am the giant Caraculiambro, lord of the island of Malindrania, vanquished in single combat by the never sufficiently extolled knight Don Quixote of La Mancha, who has commanded me to present myself before your Grace, that your Highness dispose of me at your pleasure?'" Oh, how our good gentleman enjoyed the delivery of this speech, especially when he had thought of someone to call his Lady! There was, so the story goes, in a village near his own a very good-looking farm girl with whom he had been at one time in love, though, so far as is known, she never knew it nor gave a thought to the matter. Her name was Aldonza Lorenzo, and upon her he thought fit to confer the title of Lady of his Thoughts; and after some search for a name which should not be out of harmony with her own, and should suggest and indicate that of a princess and great lady, he decided upon calling her Dulcinea del Toboso—she being of El Toboso—a name, to his mind, musical, uncommon, and significant, like all those he had already bestowed upon himself and the things belonging to him.

## CHAPTER 2

THESE preliminaries settled, he did not care to put off any longer the execution of his design, urged on to it by the thought of all the world was losing by his delay, seeing what wrongs he intended to right, grievances to redress, injustices to repair, abuses to remove, and duties to discharge. So, without giving notice of his intention to anyone, and without anybody seeing him, one morning before the dawning of the day (which was one of the hottest of the month of July) he donned his suit of armor, mounted Rocinante with his patched-up helmet on, braced his buckler, took his lance, and by the back door of the yard sallied forth upon the plain in the highest contentment and

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satisfaction at seeing with what ease he had made a beginning with his grand purpose.

Thus setting out, our new-fledged adventurer paced along, talking to himself and saying, "Who knows but that in time to come, when the veracious history of my famous deeds is made known, the sage who writes it, when he has to set forth my first sally in the early morning, will do it after this fashion? 'Scarce had the rubicund Apollo spread o'er the face of the broad spacious earth the golden threads of his bright hair, scarce had the little birds of painted plumage attuned their notes to hail with dulcet and mellifluous harmony the coming of the rosy Dawn, that, deserting the soft couch of her jealous spouse, was appearing to mortals at the gates and balconies of the Manchegan horizon, when the renowned knight Don Quixote of La Mancha, quitting the lazy down, mounted his celebrated steed Rocinante and began to traverse the ancient and famous Campo de Montiel' "; which in fact he was actually traversing. "Happy the age, happy the time," he continued, "in which shall be made known my deeds of fame, worthy to be molded in brass, carved in marble, limned in pictures, for a memorial forever. And thou, O sage magician, whoever thou art, to whom it shall fall to be the chronicler of this wondrous history, forget not, I entreat thee, my good Rocinante, the constant companion of my ways and wanderings."

So he went on stringing together these and other absurdities, all in the style of those his books had taught him, imitating their language as well as he could; and all the while he rode so slowly and the sun mounted so rapidly and with such fervor that it was enough to melt his brains if he had any. Nearly all day he traveled without anything remarkable happening to him, at which he was in despair, for he was anxious to encounter someone at once upon whom to try the might of his strong arm.

He was on the road all day, and towards nightfall his hack and he found themselves dead tired and hungry, when, looking all around to see if he could discover any castle or shepherd's shanty where he might refresh himself and relieve his sore wants, he perceived not far out of his road an inn, which was welcome as a star guiding him to the portals, if not the palaces, of his redemption; and quickening his pace he reached it just as night was setting in. At the door were standing two young women, girls of the district as they call them, on their way to Seville with some carriers who had chanced to halt that night at the inn; and as, happen what might to our adventurer, everything he



saw or imagined seemed to him to be and to happen after the fashion of what he had read of, the moment he saw the inn he pictured it to himself as a castle with its four turrets and pinnacles of shining silver, not forgetting the drawbridge and moat and all the belongings usually ascribed to castles of the sort. To this inn, which to him seemed a castle, he advanced, and at a short distance from it he checked Rocinante, hoping that some dwarf would show himself upon the battlements, and by sound of trumpet give notice that a knight was approaching the castle. But seeing that they were slow about it, and that Rocinante was in a hurry to reach the stable, he made for the inn door, and perceived the two gay damsels who were standing there, and who seemed to him to be two fair maidens or lovely ladies taking their ease at the castle gate.

At this moment it so happened that a swineherd who was going through the stubbles collecting a drove of pigs (for, without any apology, that is what they are called) gave a blast of his horn to bring them together, and forthwith it seemed to Don Quixote to be what he was expecting, the signal of some dwarf announcing his arrival; and so with prodigious satisfaction he rode up to the inn and to the ladies, who, seeing a man of this sort approaching in full armor and with lance and buckler, were turning in dismay into the inn, when Don Quixote, guessing their fear by their flight, raising his pasteboard visor, disclosed his dry, dusty visage, and with courteous bearing and gentle voice addressed them, "Your ladyships need not fly or fear any rudeness, for that it belongs not to the order of knighthood which I profess to offer to anyone, much less to high-born maidens as your appearance proclaims you to be." The girls were looking at him and straining their eyes to make out the features which the clumsy visor obscured, but when they heard themselves called maidens, a thing so much out of their line, they could not restrain their laughter, which made Don Quixote wax indignant, and say, "Modesty becomes the fair, and moreover laughter that has little cause is great silliness; this, however, I say not to pain or anger you; for my desire is none other than to serve you."

The incomprehensible language and the unpromising looks of our cavalier only increased the ladies' laughter, and that increased his irritation, and matters might have gone farther if at that moment the landlord had not come out, who, being a very fat man, was a very peaceful one. He, seeing this grotesque figure clad in armor that did not match any more than his saddle, bridle, lance, buckler, or corselet,

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was not at all indisposed to join the damsels in their manifestations of amusement; but, in truth, standing in awe of such a complicated armament, he thought it best to speak him fairly, so he said, "Señor Caballero, if your worship wants lodging, bating the bed (for there is not one in the inn) there is plenty of everything else here." Don Quixote, observing the respectful bearing of the Alcaide of the fortress (for so innkeeper and inn seemed in his eyes), made answer, "Sir Castellan, for me anything will suffice, for

"My armor is my only wear,  
My only rest the fray."

The host fancied he called him Castellan because he took him for a "worthy of Castile," though he was in fact an Andalusian, and one from the Strand of San Lucar, as crafty a thief as Casus and as full of tricks as a student or a page. "In that case," said he,

"Your bed is on the flinty rock,  
Your sleep to watch alway"

and if so, you may dismount and safely reckon upon any quantity of sleeplessness under this roof for a twelvemonth, not to say for a single night." So saying, he advanced to hold the stirrup for Don Quixote, who got down with great difficulty and exertion (for he had not broken his fast all day), and then charged the host to take great care of his horse as he was the best bit of flesh that ever ate bread in this world. The landlord eyed him over, but did not find him as good as Don Quixote said, nor even half as good, and putting him up in the stable, he returned to see what might be wanted by his guest, whom the damsels, who had by this time made their peace with him, were now relieving of his armor. They had taken off his breastplate and backpiece, but they neither knew nor saw how to open his gorget or remove his makeshift helmet, for he had fastened it with green ribbons, which, as there was no untying the knots, required to be cut. This, however, he would not by any means consent to, so he remained all the evening with his helmet on, the drollest and oddest figure that can be imagined; and while they were removing his armor, taking the baggages who were about it for ladies of high degree belonging to the castle, he said to them with great sprightliness:

"Oh, never, surely, was there knight  
So served by hand of dame,  
As served was he, Don Quixote hight,

When from his town he came;  
With maidens waiting on himself,  
Princesses on his hack—

—or Rocinante, for that, ladies mine, is my horse's name, and Don Quixote of La Mancha is my own; for though I had no intention of declaring myself until my achievements in your service and honor had made me known, the necessity of adapting that old ballad of Lancelot to the present occasion has given you the knowledge of my name altogether prematurely. A time, however, will come for your ladyships to command and me to obey, and then the might of my arm will show my desire to serve you."

The girls, who were not used to hearing rhetoric of this sort, had nothing to say in reply: they only asked him if he wanted anything to eat. "I would gladly eat a bit of something," said Don Quixote, "for I feel it would come very seasonably." They laid a table for him at the door of the inn for the sake of the air, and the host brought him a portion of ill-soaked and worse cooked stockfish, and a piece of bread as black and moldy as his own armor; but a laughable sight it was to see him eating, for having his helmet on and the beaver up, he could not with his own hands put anything into his mouth unless someone else placed it there, and this service one of the ladies rendered him. But to give him anything to drink was impossible, or would have been so had not the landlord bored a reed, and putting one end in his mouth poured the wine into him through the other; all which he bore with patience rather than sever the ribbons of his helmet. But still it distressed him to think he had not been dubbed a knight, for it was plain to him he could not lawfully engage in any adventure without receiving the order of knighthood.

### CHAPTER 3

HAKASSED by this reflection, he made haste with his scanty pot-house supper, and having finished it called the landlord, and shutting himself into the stable with him, fell on his knees before him, saying, "From this spot I rise not, valiant knight, until your courtesy grants me the boon I seek, one that will redound to your praise and the benefit of the human race." The landlord, seeing his guest at his feet and hearing a speech of this kind, stood staring at him in bewilder-

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ment, not knowing what to do or say, and entreating him to rise, but all to no purpose until he had agreed to grant the boon demanded of him. "I looked for no less, my lord, from your High Magnificence," replied Don Quixote, "and I have to tell you that the boon I have asked and your liberality has granted is that you shall dub me knight tomorrow morning, and that tonight I shall watch my arms in the chapel of this your castle; thus tomorrow, as I have said, will be accomplished what I so much desire, enabling me lawfully to roam through all the four quarters of the world seeking adventures on behalf of those in distress, as is the duty of chivalry and of knights-errant like myself, whose ambition is directed to such deeds."

The landlord, who, as has been mentioned, was something of a wag, and had already some suspicion of his guest's want of wits, was quite convinced of it on hearing talk of this kind from him, and to make sport for the night he determined to fall in with his humor. So he told him he was quite right in pursuing the object he had in view, and that such a motive was natural and becoming in cavaliers as distinguished as he seemed and his gallant bearing showed him to be. He told him, moreover, that in this castle of his there was no chapel in which he could watch his armor, as it had been pulled down in order to be rebuilt, but that in a case of necessity it might, he knew, be watched anywhere, and he might watch it that night in a courtyard of the castle, and in the morning, God willing, the requisite ceremonies might be performed so as to have him dubbed a knight, and so thoroughly dubbed that nobody could be more so. He asked if he had any money with him, to which Don Quixote replied that he had not a farthing, as in the histories of knights-errant he had never read of any of them carrying any. On this point the landlord told him he was mistaken; for, though not recorded in the histories, because in the author's opinion there was no need to mention anything so obvious and necessary as money and clean shirts, it was not to be supposed therefore that they did not carry them, and he might regard it as certain and established that all knights-errant (about whom there were so many full and unimpeachable books) carried well-furnished purses in case of emergency, and likewise carried shirts and a little box of ointment to cure the wounds they received.

Don Quixote promised to follow his advice scrupulously, and it was arranged forthwith that he should watch his armor in a large yard at one side of the inn; so, collecting it all together, Don Quixote placed it on a trough that stood by the side of a well, and bracing his buckler

on his arm he grasped his lance and began with a stately air to march up and down in front of the trough, and as he began his march night began to fall.

Meanwhile one of the carriers who were in the inn thought fit to water his team, and it was necessary to remove Don Quixote's armor as it lay on the trough; but he seeing the other approach hailed him in a loud voice, "O thou, whoever thou art, rash knight that comest to lay hands on the armor of the most valorous errant that ever girt on sword, have a care what thou dost; touch it not unless thou wouldst lay down thy life as the penalty of thy rashness." The carrier gave no heed to these words (and he would have done better to heed them if he had been heedful of his health), but seizing it by the straps flung the armor some distance from him. Seeing this, Don Quixote raised his eyes to heaven, and fixing his thoughts, apparently, upon his lady Dulcinea, exclaimed, "Aid me, lady mine, in this the first encounter that presents itself to this breast which thou holdest in subjection; let not thy favor and protection fail me in this first jeopardy"; and, with these words and others to the same purpose, dropping his buckler he lifted his lance with both hands and with it smote such a blow on the carrier's head that he stretched him on the ground so stunned that had he followed it up with a second there would have been no need of a surgeon to cure him. This done, he picked up his armor and returned to his beat with the same serenity as before.

Shortly after this, another, not knowing what had happened (for the carrier still lay senseless), came with the same object of giving water to his mules, and was proceeding to remove the armor in order to clear the trough, when Don Quixote, without uttering a word or imploring aid from anyone, once more dropped his buckler and once more lifted his lance, and without actually breaking the second carrier's head into pieces, made more than three of it, for he laid it open in four. At the noise all the people of the inn ran to the spot, and among them the landlord. Seeing this, Don Quixote braced his buckler on his arm, and with his hand on his sword exclaimed, "O Lady of Beauty, strength and support of my faint heart, it is time for thee to turn the eyes of thy greatness on this thy captive knight on the brink of so mighty an adventure." By this he felt himself so inspirited that he would not have flinched if all the carriers in the world had assailed him. The comrades of the wounded perceiving the plight they were in began from a distance to shower stones on Don Quixote, who screened himself as best he could with his buckler, not daring to quit the trough

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and leave his armor unprotected. The landlord shouted to them to leave him alone, for he had already told them that he was mad, and as a madman he would not be accountable even if he killed them all.

But these freaks of his guest were not much to the liking of the landlord, so he determined to cut matters short and confer upon him at once the unlucky order of knighthood before any further misadventure could occur; so, going up to him, he apologized for the rudeness which, without his knowledge, had been offered to him by these low people, who, however, had been well punished for their audacity.

The castellan forthwith brought out a book in which he used to enter the straw and barley he served out to the carriers, and, with a lad carrying a candle-end, and the two damsels already mentioned, he returned to where Don Quixote stood, and bade him kneel down. Then, reading from his account-book as if he were repeating some devout prayer, in the middle of his delivery he raised his hand and gave him a sturdy blow on the neck, and then, with his own sword, a smart slap on the shoulder, all the while muttering between his teeth as if he were saying his prayers. Having done this, he directed one of the ladies to gird on his sword, which she did with great self-possession and gravity, and not a little was required to prevent a burst of laughter at each stage of the ceremony; but what they had already seen of the novice knight's prowess kept their laughter within bounds.

Having thus, with hot haste and speed, brought to a conclusion these never-till-now-seen ceremonies, Don Quixote was on thorns until he saw himself on horseback sallying forth in quest of adventures; and saddling Rocinante at once he mounted, and embracing his host, as he returned thanks for his kindness in knighting him, he addressed him in language so extraordinary that it is impossible to convey an idea of it or report it. The landlord, to get him out of the inn, replied with no less rhetoric though with shorter words, and without calling upon him to pay the reckoning, let him go with a Godspeed.

## CHAPTER 4

**D**AY was dawning when Don Quixote quitted the inn, so happy, so gay, so exhilarated at finding himself dubbed a knight, that his joy was like to burst his horse-girths. However, recalling the advice of his host as to the requisites he ought to carry with him, especially that

referring to money and shirts, he determined to go home and provide himself with all, and also with a squire, for he reckoned upon securing a farm laborer, a neighbor of his, a poor man with a family, but very well qualified for the office of squire to a knight. With this object he turned his horse's head towards his village, and Rocinante, thus reminded of his old quarters, stepped out so briskly that he hardly seemed to tread the earth.

He had not gone far when out of a thicket on his right there seemed to come feeble cries as of someone in distress, and the instant he heard them he exclaimed, "Thanks be to Heaven for the favor it accords me, that it so soon offers me an opportunity of fulfilling the obligation I have undertaken, and gathering the fruit of my ambition. These cries, no doubt, come from some man or woman in want of help, and needing my aid and protection"; and wheeling, he turned Rocinante in the direction whence the cries seemed to proceed. He had gone but a few paces into the wood, when he saw a mare tied to an oak, and tied to another, and stripped from the waist upwards, a youth of about fifteen years of age, from whom the cries came. Nor were they without cause, for a lusty farmer was flogging him with a belt and following up every blow with scoldings and commands, repeating, "Your mouth shut and your eyes open!" while the youth made answer, "I won't do it again, master mine; by God's passion I won't do it again, and I'll take more care of the flock another time."

Seeing what was going on, Don Quixote said in an angry voice, "Discourteous knight, it ill becomes you to assail one who cannot defend himself; mount your steed and take your lance" (for there was a lance leaning against the oak to which the mare was tied), "and I will make you know that you are behaving as a coward." The farmer, seeing before him this figure in full armor brandishing a lance over his head, gave himself up for dead, and made answer meekly, "Sir Knight, this youth that I am chastising is my servant, employed by me to watch a flock of sheep that I have hard by, and he is so careless that I lose one every day, and when I punish him for his carelessness and knavery he says I do it out of niggardliness, to escape paying him the wages I owe him, and before God, and on my soul, he lies."

"Lies before me, base clown!" said Don Quixote. "By the sun that shines on us I have a mind to run you through with this lance. Pay him at once without another word; if not, by the God that rules us I will make an end of you, and annihilate you on the spot; release him instantly."

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The farmer hung his head, and without a word untied his servant, of whom Don Quixote asked how much his master owed him.

He replied, nine months at seven reals a month. Don Quixote added it up, found that it came to sixty-three reals, and told the farmer to pay it down immediately, if he did not want to die for it.

The trembling clown replied that as he lived and by the oath he had sworn (though he had not sworn any) it was not so much; for there were to be taken into account and deducted three pairs of shoes he had given him, and a real for two blood-lettings when he was sick.

"All that is very well," said Don Quixote; "but let the shoes and the blood-lettings stand as a set-off against the blows you have given him without any cause; for if he spoiled the leather of the shoes you paid for, you have damaged that of his body, and if the barber took blood from him when he was sick, you have drawn it when he was sound; so on that score he owes you nothing."

"The difficulty is, Sir Knight, that I have no money here; let Andres come home with me, and I will pay him all, real by real."

"I go with him!" said the youth. "Nay, God forbid! no, señor, not for the world; for once alone with me, he would flay me like a Saint Bartholomew."

"He will do nothing of the kind," said Don Quixote; "I have only to command, and he will obey me; and as he has sworn to me by the order of knighthood which he has received, I leave him free, and I guarantee the payment."

"Consider what you are saying, señor," said the youth; "this master of mine is not a knight, nor has he received any order of knighthood; for he is Juan Haldudo the Rich, of Quintanar."

"That matters little," replied Don Quixote; "there may be Haldudos knights; moreover, every one is the son of his works."

"That is true," said Andres; "but this master of mine—of what works is he the son, when he refuses me the wages of my sweat and labor?"

"I do not refuse, brother Andres," said the farmer; "be good enough to come along with me, and I swear by all the orders of knighthood there are in the world to pay you as I have agreed, real by real, and perfumed."

"For the perfumery I excuse you," said Don Quixote; "give it to him in reals, and I shall be satisfied; and see that you do as you have sworn; if not, by the same oath I swear to come back and hunt you out and punish you; and I shall find you though you should lie closer



than a lizard. And if you desire to know who it is lays this command upon you, that you may be more firmly bound to obey it, know that I am the valorous Don Quixote of La Mancha, the undoer of wrongs and injustices; and so, God be with you, and keep in mind what you have promised and sworn under those penalties that have been already declared to you."

So saying, he gave Rocinante the spur and was soon out of reach. The farmer followed him with his eyes, and when he saw that he had cleared the wood and was no longer in sight, he turned to his boy Andres, and said, "Come here, my son, I want to pay you what I owe you, as that undoer of wrongs has commanded me." Seizing him by the arm, he tied him up to the oak again, where he gave him such a flogging that he left him for dead.

"Now, Master Andres," said the farmer, "call on the undoer of wrongs; you will find he won't undo that, though I am not sure that I have quite done with you, for I have a good mind to flay you alive as you feared." But at last he untied him, and gave him leave to go look for his judge in order to put the sentence pronounced into execution.

Thus did the valiant Don Quixote right that wrong, and, thoroughly satisfied with what had taken place, as he considered he had made a very happy and noble beginning with his knighthood, he took the road towards his village in perfect self-content, saying in a low voice, "Well mayest thou this day call thyself fortunate above all on earth, O Dulcinea del Toboso, fairest of the fair! since it has fallen to thy lot to hold subject and submissive to thy full will and pleasure a knight so renowned as is and will be Don Quixote of La Mancha, who, as all the world knows, yesterday received the order of knighthood, and hath today righted the greatest wrong and grievance that ever injustice conceived and cruelty perpetrated: who hath today plucked the rod from the hand of yonder ruthless oppressor so wantonly lashing that tender child."

## CHAPTER 5

*[On the highway Don Quixote meets six merchants from Toledo and their servants. When they refuse to agree that Dulcinea is the fairest maiden in the world, he charges them. Rocinante stumbles and falls. Weighed down by his armor, the Knight is an easy prey for one of the servants who seizes his lance and beats him until it*

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*shatters. Later a peasant comes along and, recognizing Don Quixote, loads him across his donkey. They head back to their village, the Don wildly describing his mishaps in terms of the bal-lads of knight-errantry.]*

## CHAPTER 6

TO THIS the peasant answered, "Señor—sinner that I am!—cannot your worship see that I am not Don Rodrigo de Narvaez nor the Marquis of Mantua, but Pedro Alonso your neighbor, and that your worship is neither Baldwin nor Abindarraez, but the worthy gentleman Señor Quixada?"

"I know who I am," replied Don Quixote, "and I know that I may be not only those I have named, but all the Twelve Peers of France and even all the Nine Worthies, since my achievements surpass all that they have done all together and each of them on his own account."

With this talk and more of the same kind they reached the village just as night was beginning to fall, but the peasant waited until it was a little later that the belabored gentleman might not be seen riding in such a miserable trim. When it was what seemed to him the proper time he entered the village and went to Don Quixote's house, which he found all in confusion, and there were the curate and the village barber, who were great friends of Don Quixote, and his housekeeper was saying to them in a loud voice, "Señor licentiate Pero Perez," for so the curate was called, "what does your worship think can have befallen my master? Miserable me! I am certain of it, and it is as true as that I was born to die, that these accursed books of chivalry he has, and has got into the way of reading so constantly, have upset his reason."

The niece said the same, and, indeed, more: "You must know, Master Nicholas"—for that was the name of the barber—"it was often my uncle's way to stay two days and nights together poring over these unholy books of misventures, after which he would fling the book away and snatch up his sword and fall to slashing the walls; and when he was tired out he would say he had killed four giants like four towers; and the sweat that flowed from him when he was weary he said was the blood of the wounds he had received in battle; and then

he would drink a great jug of cold water and become calm and quiet, saying that this water was a most precious potion which the sage Esquife, a great magician and friend of his, had brought him. But I take all the blame upon myself for never having told your worships of my uncle's vagaries, that you might put a stop to them before things had come to this pass, and burn all these accursed books—for he has a great number—that richly deserve to be burned like heretics.”

“So say I too,” said the curate, “and by my faith tomorrow shall not pass without public judgment upon them, and may they be condemned to the flames lest they lead those that read them to behave as my good friend seems to have behaved.”

All this the peasant heard, and from it he understood at last what was the matter with his neighbor, so he began calling aloud, “Open, your worships, to Señor Baldwin and to Señor the Marquis of Mantua, who comes badly wounded, and to Señor Abindarraez, the Moor, whom the valiant Rodrigo de Narvaez, the Alcaide of Antequera, brings captive.”

At these words they all hurried out, and when they recognized their friend, master, and uncle, who had not yet dismounted from the ass because he could not, they ran to embrace him.

“Hold!” said he, “for I am badly wounded through my horse's fault; carry me to bed, and if possible send for the wise Urganda to cure and see to my wounds.”

“See there! plague on it!” cried the housekeeper at this: “did not my heart tell the truth as to which foot my master went lame of? To bed with your worship at once, and we will contrive to cure you here without fetching that Urganda. A curse I say once more, and a hundred times more, on those books of chivalry that have brought your worship to such a pass.”

They carried him to bed at once, and after searching for his wounds could find none, but he said they were all bruises from having had a severe fall with his horse Rocinante when in combat with ten giants, the biggest and the boldest to be found on earth.

“So, so!” said the curate, “are there giants in the dance? By the sign of the Cross I will burn them tomorrow before the day is over.”

They put a host of questions to Don Quixote, but his only answer to all was—give him something to eat, and leave him to sleep, for that was what he needed most. They did so, and the curate questioned the peasant at great length as to how he had found Don Quixote. He told him all, and the nonsense he had talked when found and on the way

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home, all which made the licentiate the more eager to do what he did the next day, which was to summon his friend the barber, Master Nicholas, and go with him to Don Quixote's house.

### CHAPTER 7

*[The next day the curate and the barber examine Don Quixote's library of romances of chivalry and books of poetry. A few books they save, but the majority are lugged off to the courtyard where the housekeeper is delighted to burn them.]*

ONE of the remedies which the curate and the barber immediately applied to their friend's disorder was to wall up and plaster the room where the books were, so that when he got up he should not find them (possibly the cause being removed, the effect might cease), and they might say that a magician had carried them off, room and all; and this was done with all despatch. Two days later Don Quixote got up, and the first thing he did was to go and look for his books, and not finding the room where he had left it, he wandered from side to side looking for it. He came to the place where the door used to be, and tried it with his hands, and turned and twisted his eyes in every direction without saying a word; but after a good while he asked his housekeeper whereabouts was the room that held his books.

The housekeeper, who had been already well instructed in what she was to answer, said, "What room or what nothing is it that your worship is looking for? There are neither room nor books in this house now, for the devil himself has carried all away."

"It was not the devil," said the niece, "but a magician who came on a cloud one night after the day your worship left this, and dismounting from a serpent that he rode he entered the room, and what he did there I know not, but after a little while he made off, flying through the roof, and left the house full of smoke; and when we went to see what he had done we saw neither book nor room: but we remember very well, the housekeeper and I, that on leaving, the old villain said in a loud voice that, for a private grudge he owed the owner of the books and the room, he had done mischief in that house that would be discovered by and by: he said too that his name was the Sage Muñaton."

"He must have said Friston," said Don Quixote.

## *Miguel de Cervantes*

"I don't know whether he called himself Friston or Friton," said the housekeeper, "I only know that his name ended with 'ton.'"

"So it does," said Don Quixote, "and he is a sage magician, a great enemy of mine, who has a spite against me because he knows by his arts and lore that in process of time I am to engage in single combat with a knight whom he befriends and that I am to conquer, and he will be unable to prevent it; and for this reason he endeavors to do me all the ill turns that he can; but I promise him it will be hard for him to oppose or avoid what is decreed by Heaven."

In short, then, he remained at home fifteen days very quietly without showing any signs of a desire to take up with his former delusions, and during this time he held lively discussions with his two gossips, the curate and the barber, on the point he maintained, that knights-errant were what the world stood most in need of, and that in him was to be accomplished the revival of knight-errantry. The curate sometimes contradicted him, sometimes agreed with him, for if he had not observed this precaution he would have been unable to bring him to reason.

Meanwhile Don Quixote worked upon a farm laborer, a neighbor of his, an honest man (if indeed that title can be given to him who is poor), but with very little wit in his pate. In a word, he so talked him over, and with such persuasions and promises, that the poor clown made up his mind to sally forth with him and serve him as esquire. Don Quixote, among other things, told him he ought to be ready to go with him gladly, because any moment an adventure might occur that might win an island in the twinkling of an eye and leave him governor of it. On these and the like promises Sancho Panza (for so the laborer was called) left wife and children, and engaged himself as esquire to his neighbor. Don Quixote next set about getting some money; and selling one thing and pawning another, and making a bad bargain in every case, he got together a fair sum. He provided himself with a buckler, which he begged as a loan from a friend, and, restoring his battered helmet as best he could, he warned his squire Sancho of the day and hour he meant to set out, that he might provide himself with what he thought most needful. Above all, he charged him to take alforjas with him. The other said he would, and that he meant to take also a very good ass he had, as he was not much given to going on foot. About the ass, Don Quixote hesitated a little, trying whether he could call to mind any knight-errant taking with him an esquire mounted on ass-back, but no instance occurred to his memory. For

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all that, however, he determined to take him, intending to furnish him with a more honorable mount when a chance of it presented itself, by appropriating the horse of the first discourteous knight he encountered. Himself he provided with shirts and such other things as he could, according to the advice the host had given him; all which being settled and done, without taking leave, Sancho Panza of his wife and children, or Don Quixote of his housekeeper and niece, they sallied forth unseen by anybody from the village one night, and made such good way in the course of it that by daylight they held themselves safe from discovery, even should search be made for them.

Sancho rode on his ass like a patriarch with his alforjas and bota, and longing to see himself soon governor of the island his master had promised him. Don Quixote decided upon taking the same route and road he had taken on his first journey, that over the Campo de Montiel, which he traveled with less discomfort than on the last occasion, for, as it was early morning and the rays of the sun fell on them obliquely, the heat did not distress them.

And now said Sancho Panza to his master, "Your worship will take care, Señor Knight-errant, not to forget about the island you have promised me, for be it ever so big I'll be equal to governing it."

To which Don Quixote replied, "Thou must know, friend Sancho Panza, that it was a practice very much in vogue with the knights-errant of old to make their squires governors of the islands or kingdoms they won, and I am determined that there shall be no failure on my part in so liberal a custom. If thou livest and I live, it may well be that before six days are over, I may have won some kingdom that has others dependent upon it, which will be just the thing to enable thee to be crowned king of one of them. Nor needst thou count this wonderful, for things and chances fall to the lot of such knights in ways so unexampled and unexpected that I might easily give thee even more than I promise thee."

"In that case," said Sancho Panza, "if I should become a king by one of those miracles your worship speaks of, even Juana Gutierrez, my old woman, would come to be queen and my children infantiles."

"Well, who doubts it?" said Don Quixote.

"I doubt it," replied Sancho Panza, "because for my part I am persuaded that though God should shower down kingdoms upon earth, not one of them would fit the head of Mari Gutierrez. Let me tell you, señor, she is not worth two maravedis for a queen; countess will fit her better, and that only with God's help."

"Leave it to God, Sancho," returned Don Quixote, "for He will give her what suits her best; but do not undervalue thyself so much as to come to be content with anything less than being governor of a province."

"I will not, señor," answered Sancho, "especially as I have a man of such quality for a master in your worship, who will be able to give me all that will be suitable for me and that I can bear."

## CHAPTER 8

AT THIS point they came in sight of thirty or forty windmills that there are on that plain, and as soon as Don Quixote saw them he said to his squire, "Fortune is arranging matters for us better than we could have shaped our desires ourselves, for look there, friend Sancho Panza, where thirty or more monstrous giants present themselves, all of whom I mean to engage in battle and slay, and with whose spoils we shall begin to make our fortunes; for this is righteous warfare, and it is God's good service to sweep so evil a breed from off the face of the earth."

"What giants?" said Sancho Panza.

"Those thou seest there," answered his master, "with the long arms, and some have them nearly two leagues long."

"Look, your worship," said Sancho; "what we see there are not giants but windmills, and what seem to be their arms are the sails that, turned by the wind, make the millstone go."

"It is easy to see," replied Don Quixote, "that thou art not used to this business of adventures; those are giants; and if thou art afraid, away with thee out of this and betake thyself to prayer while I engage them in fierce and unequal combat."

So saying, he gave the spur to his steed Rocinante, heedless of the cries his squire Sancho sent after him, warning him that most certainly they were windmills and not giants he was going to attack. He, however, was so positive they were giants that he neither heard the cries of Sancho, nor perceived, near as he was, what they were, but made at them shouting, "Fly not, cowards and vile beings, for it is a single knight that attacks you."

A slight breeze at this moment sprang up, and the great sails began to move, seeing which Don Quixote exclaimed, "Though ye flourish

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more arms than the giant Briareus, ye have to reckon with me."

So saying, and commending himself with all his heart to his lady Dulcinea, imploring her to support him in such a peril, with lance in rest and covered by his buckler, he charged at Rocinante's fullest gallop and fell upon the first mill that stood in front of him; but as he drove his lance-point into the sail the wind whirled it round with such force that it shattered the lance to pieces, sweeping with it horse and rider, who went rolling over on the plain, in a sorry condition. Sancho hastened to his assistance as fast as his ass could go, and when he came up found him unable to move, with such a shock had Rocinante fallen with him.

"God bless me!" said Sancho, "did I not tell your worship to mind what you were about, for they were only windmills? and no one could have made any mistake about it but one who had something of the same kind in his head."

"Hush, friend Sancho," replied Don Quixote, "the fortunes of war more than any other are liable to frequent fluctuations; and moreover I think, and it is the truth, that that same sage Frisdon who carried off my study and books, has turned these giants into mills in order to rob me of the glory of vanquishing them, such is the enmity he bears me; but in the end his wicked arts will avail but little against my good sword."

"God order it as He may," said Sancho Panza, and helping him to rise got him up again on Rocinante, whose shoulder was half out; and then, discussing the late adventure, they followed the road to Puerto Lapice, for there, said Don Quixote, they could not fail to find adventures in abundance and variety, as it was a great thoroughfare.

Sancho bade him remember it was dinner-time, to which his master answered that he wanted nothing himself just then, but that *he* might eat when he had a mind. With this permission Sancho settled himself as comfortably as he could on his beast, and taking out of the alforjas what he had stowed away in them, he jogged along behind his master munching deliberately, and from time to time taking a pull at the bota with a relish that the thirstiest tapster in Malaga might have envied; and while he went on in this way, gulping down draught after draught, he never gave a thought to any of the promises his master had made him, nor did he rate it as hardship but rather as recreation going in quest of adventures, however dangerous they might be. Finally they passed the night among some trees, from one of which Don Quixote plucked a dry branch to serve him after a fashion as a lance, and fixed



on it the head he had removed from the broken one. All that night Don Quixote lay awake thinking of his lady Dulcinea, in order to conform to what he had read in his books, how many a night in the forests and deserts knights used to lie sleepless supported by the memory of their mistresses. Not so did Sancho Panza spend it, for having his stomach full of something stronger than chicory water he made but one sleep of it, and, if his master had not called him, neither the rays of the sun beating on his face nor all the cheery notes of the birds welcoming the approach of day would have had power to waken him.

They returned to the road they had set out with, leading to Puerto Lapice, and at three in the afternoon they came in sight of it. "Here, brother Sancho Panza," said Don Quixote when he saw it, "we may plunge our hands up to the elbows in what they call adventures; but observe, even shouldst thou see me in the greatest danger in the world, thou must not put a hand to thy sword in my defense, unless, indeed, thou perceivest that those who assail me are rabble or base folk; for in that case thou mayest very properly aid me; but if they be knights it is on no account permitted or allowed thee by the laws of knighthood to help me until thou hast been dubbed a knight."

"Most certainly, señor," replied Sancho, "your worship shall be fully obeyed in this matter; all the more as of myself I am peaceful and no friend to mixing in strife and quarrels: it is true that as regards the defense of my own person I shall not give much heed to those laws, for laws human and divine allow each one to defend himself against any assailant whatever."

"That I grant," said Don Quixote, "but in this matter of aiding me against knights thou must put a restraint upon thy natural impetuosity."

"I will do so, I promise you," answered Sancho, "and I will keep this precept as carefully as Sunday."

## CHAPTER 9

*[Continuing along the highway, Don Quixote first frightens a couple of priests off the road and then gets into a serious fight with the lackey of a lady he attempts to "rescue" from a stagecoach. By chance her man is unhorsed and the victorious knight escapes with only the loss of part of one ear.]*

SEEING, therefore, that the struggle was now over, and that his master was returning to mount Rocinante, Sancho approached to hold the stirrup for him, and, before he could mount, he went on his knees before him, and taking his hand, kissed it saying, "May it please your worship, Señor Don Quixote, to give me the government of that island which has been won in this hard fight, for be it ever so big I feel myself in sufficient force to be able to govern it as much and as well as anyone in the world who has ever governed islands."

To which Don Quixote replied, "Thou must take notice, brother Sancho, that this adventure and those like it are not adventures of islands, but of crossroads, in which nothing is got except a broken head or an ear the less: have patience, for adventures will present themselves from which I may make you, not only a governor, but something more."

Sancho gave him many thanks, and again kissing his hand and the skirt of his hauberk, helped him to mount Rocinante, and mounting his ass himself, proceeded to follow his master, who at a brisk pace, without taking leave, or saying anything further to the ladies belonging to the coach, turned into a wood that was hard by. Sancho followed him at his ass's best trot, but Rocinante stepped out so that, seeing himself left behind, he was forced to call to his master to wait for him. Don Quixote did so, reining in Rocinante until his weary squire came up, who on reaching him said, "It seems to me, señor, it would be prudent in us to go and take refuge in some church, for, seeing how mauled he with whom you fought has been left, it will be no wonder if they give information of the affair to the Holy Brotherhood and arrest us, and, faith, if they do, before we come out of jail we shall have to sweat for it."

"Peace," said Don Quixote; "where hast thou ever seen or heard that a knight-errant has been arraigned before a court of justice, however many homicides he may have committed?"

"I know nothing about omecils," answered Sancho, "nor in my life have had anything to do with one; I only know that the Holy Brotherhood looks after those who fight in the fields, and in that other matter I do not meddle."

"Then thou needst have no uneasiness, my friend," said Don

Quixote, "for I will deliver thee out of the hands of the Chaldeans, much more out of those of the Brotherhood. But tell me, as thou livest, hast thou seen a more valiant knight than I in all the known world; hast thou read in history of any who has or had higher mettle in attack, more spirit in maintaining it, more dexterity in wounding or skill in overthrowing?"

"The truth is," answered Sancho, "that I have never read any history, for I can neither read nor write, but what I will venture to bet is that a more daring master than your worship I have never served in all the days of my life, and God grant that this daring be not paid for where I have said; what I beg of your worship is to dress your wound, for a great deal of blood flows from that ear, and I have here some lint and a little white ointment in the alforjas."

"All that might be well dispensed with," said Don Quixote, "if I had remembered to make a vial of the balsam of Fierabras, for time and medicine are saved by one single drop."

"What vial and what balsam is that?" said Sancho Panza.

"It is a balsam," answered Don Quixote, "the receipt of which I have in my memory, with which one need have no fear of death, or dread dying of any wound; and so when I make it and give it to thee thou hast nothing to do when in some battle thou seest they have cut me in half through the middle of the body—as is wont to happen frequently—but neatly and with great nicety, ere the blood congeal, to place that portion of the body which shall have fallen to the ground upon the other half which remains in the saddle, taking care to fit it on evenly and exactly. Then thou shalt give me to drink but two drops of the balsam I have mentioned, and thou shalt see me become sounder than an apple."

"If that be so," said Panza, "I renounce henceforth the government of the promised island, and desire nothing more in payment of my many and faithful services than that your worship give me the receipt of this supreme liquor, for I am persuaded it will be worth more than two reals an ounce anywhere, and I want no more to pass the rest of my life in ease and honor; but it remains to be told if it costs much to make it."

"With less than three reals six quarts of it may be made," said Don Quixote.

"Sinner that I am!" said Sancho, "then why does your worship put off making it and teaching it to me?"

"Peace, friend," answered Don Quixote; "greater secrets I mean to

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teach thee and greater favors to bestow upon thee; and for the present let us see to the dressing, for my ear pains me more than I could wish."

"Enough," said Sancho; "so be it then, and God grant us success, and that the time for winning that island which is costing me so dear may soon come, and then let me die."

"I have already told thee, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "not to give thyself any uneasiness on that score. But let us leave that to its own time; see if thou hast anything for us to eat in those alforjas, because we must presently go in quest of some castle where we may lodge to-night and make the balsam I told thee of, for I swear to thee by God, this ear is giving me great pain."

"I have here an onion and a little cheese and a few scraps of bread," said Sancho, "but they are not victuals fit for a valiant knight like your worship."

"How little thou knowest about it," answered Don Quixote; "I would have thee to know, Sancho, that it is the glory of knights-errant to go without eating for a month, and even when they do eat, that it should be of what comes first to hand; and this would have been clear to thee hadst thou read as many histories as I have, for, though they are very many, among them all I have found no mention made of knights-errant eating, unless by accident or at some sumptuous banquets prepared for them, and the rest of the time they passed in dalliance. And though it is plain they could not do without eating and performing all the other natural functions, because, in fact, they were men like ourselves, it is plain too that, wandering as they did the most part of their lives through woods and wilds and without a cook, their most usual fare would be rustic viands such as those thou dost now offer me; so that, friend Sancho, let not that distress thee which pleases me, and do not seek to make a new world or pervert knight-errantry."

"Pardon me, your worship," said Sancho, "for, as I cannot read or write, as I said just now, I neither know nor comprehend the rules of the profession of chivalry: henceforward I will stock the alforjas with every kind of dry fruit for your worship, as you are a knight; and for myself, as I am not one, I will furnish them with poultry and other things more substantial."

"I do not say, Sancho," replied Don Quixote, "that it is imperative in knights-errant not to eat anything else but the fruits thou speakest of; only that their more usual diet must be those, and certain herbs they found in the fields which they knew and I know too."

"A good thing it is," answered Sancho, "to know those herbs, for to my thinking it will be needful some day to put that knowledge into practice."

And here taking out what he said he had brought, the pair made their repast peaceably and sociably. But anxious to find quarters for the night, they with all despatch made an end of their poor dry fare, mounted at once, and made haste to reach some habitation before night set in; but daylight and the hope of succeeding in their object failed them close by the huts of some goatherds, so they determined to pass the night there.

## CHAPTER 11

THEY WERE cordially welcomed by the goatherds, and Sancho, having as best he could put up Rocinante and the ass, drew towards the fragrance that came from some pieces of salted goat simmering in a pot on the fire; and though he would have liked at once to try if they were ready to be transferred from the pot to the stomach, he refrained from doing so as the goatherds removed them from the fire, and laying sheepskins on the ground, quickly spread their rude table, and with signs of hearty good will invited them both to share what they had. Round the skins six of the men belonging to the fold seated themselves, having first with rough politeness pressed Don Quixote to take a seat upon a trough which they placed for him upside down. Don Quixote seated himself, and Sancho remained standing to serve the cup, which was made of horn. Seeing him standing, his master said to him, "That thou mayest see, Sancho, the good that knight-errantry contains in itself, and how those who fill any office in it are on the high road to be speedily honored and esteemed by the world, I desire that thou seat thyself here at my side and in the company of these worthy people, and that thou be one with me who am thy master and natural lord, and that thou eat from my plate and drink from whatever I drink from; for the same may be said of knight-errantry as of love, that it levels all."

"Great thanks," said Sancho, "but I may tell your worship that provided I have enough to eat, I can eat it as well, or better, standing, and by myself, than seated alongside of an emperor. And indeed, if the truth is to be told, what I eat in my corner without form or fuss

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has much more relish for me, even though it be bread and onions, than the turkeys of those other tables where I am forced to chew slowly, drink little, wipe my mouth every minute, and cannot sneeze or cough if I want, or do other things that are the privileges of liberty and solitude."

"For all that," said Don Quixote, "thou must seat thyself, because him who humbleth himself God exalteth"; and seizing him by the arm he forced him to sit down beside himself.

The goatherds did not understand this jargon about squires and knights-errant, and all they did was to eat in silence and stare at their guests, who, with great elegance and appetite, were stowing away pieces as big as one's fist. The course of meat finished, they spread upon the sheepskins a great heap of parched acorns, and with them they put down a half cheese harder than if it had been made of mortar. All this while the horn was not idle, for it went round so constantly, now full, now empty, like the bucket of a water-wheel, that it soon drained one of the two wine-skins that were in sight. When Don Quixote had quite appeased his appetite, he took up a handful of the acorns, and contemplating them attentively delivered himself somewhat in this fashion:

"Happy the age, happy the time, to which the ancients gave the name of golden, not because in that fortunate age the gold so coveted in this our iron one was gained without toil, but because they that lived in it knew not the two words *mine* and *thine*! In that blessed age all things were in common; to win the daily food, no labor was required of any save to stretch forth his hand and gather it from the sturdy oaks that stood generously inviting him with their sweet ripe fruit. The clear streams and running brooks yielded their savory limpid waters in noble abundance. The busy and sagacious bees fixed their republic in the clefts of the rocks and hollows of the trees, offering without usance the plenteous produce of their fragrant toil to every hand. The mighty cork trees, unenforced save of their own courtesy, shed the broad light bark that served at first to roof the houses supported by rude stakes, a protection against the inclemency of heaven alone. Then all was peace, all friendship, all concord; as yet the dull share of the crooked plow had not dared to rend and pierce the tender bowels of our first mother that without compulsion yielded from every portion of her broad fertile bosom all that could satisfy, sustain, and delight the children that then possessed her. Then was it that the innocent and fair young shepherdeses roamed from vale to

vale and hill to hill, with flowing locks, and no more garments than were needful modestly to cover what modesty seeks and ever sought to hide. Nor were their ornaments like those in use today, set off by Tyrian purple, and silk tortured in endless fashions, but the wreathed leaves of the green dock and ivy, wherewith they went as bravely and becomingly decked as our Court dames with all the rare and far-fetched artifices that idle curiosity has taught them. Then the love-thoughts of the heart clothed themselves simply and naturally as the heart conceived them, nor sought to commend themselves by forced and rambling verbiage. Fraud, deceit, or malice had then not yet mingled with truth and sincerity. Justice held her ground, undisturbed and unassailed by the efforts of favor and of interest, that now so much impair, pervert, and beset her. Arbitrary law had not yet established itself in the mind of the judge, for then there was no cause to judge, and no one to be judged. Maidens and modesty, as I have said, wandered at will alone and unattended, without fear of insult from lawlessness or libertine assault, and if they were undone it was of their own will and pleasure. But now, in this hateful age of ours, not one is safe, not though some new labyrinth like that of Crete conceal and surround her; even there the pestilence of gallantry will make its way to them through chinks or on the air by the zeal of its accursed importunity, and, despite of all seclusion, lead them to ruin. In defense of these, as time advanced and wickedness increased, the order of knights-errant was instituted, to defend maidens, to protect widows, and to succor the orphans and the needy. To this order I belong, brother goatherds, to whom I return thanks for the hospitality and kindly welcome ye offer me and my squire; for though by natural law all living are bound to show favor to knights-errant, yet, seeing that without knowing this obligation ye have welcomed and feasted me, it is right that with all the good will in my power I should thank you for yours."

All this long harangue (which might very well have been spared) our knight delivered because the acorns they gave him reminded him of the golden age; and the whim seized him to address all this unnecessary argument to the goatherds, who listened to him gaping in amazement without saying a word in reply. Sancho likewise held his peace and ate acorns, and paid repeated visits to the second wine-skin, which they had hung up on a cork tree to keep the wine cool.

## CHAPTERS 12, 13 AND 14

*[These three chapters form an interlude in which Don Quixote and Sancho as guests of the goatherds listen to the story of Chrysostom, a young shepherd who died of unrequited love for the beautiful shepherdess Marcela. They attend his funeral and there hear Marcela defend herself against the amorous men who plague her.]*

## CHAPTER 15

AS SOON as Don Quixote took leave of his hosts and all who had been present at the burial of Chrysostom, he and his squire passed into the same wood which they had seen the shepherdess Marcela enter, and after having wandered for more than two hours in all directions in search of her without finding her, they came to a halt in a glade covered with tender grass, beside which ran a pleasant cool stream that invited and even compelled them to pass there the hours of the noontide heat, which by this time was beginning to come on oppressively. Don Quixote and Sancho dismounted, and turning Rocinante and the ass loose to feed on the grass that was there in abundance, they ransacked the alforjas, and without any ceremony very peacefully and sociably master and man made their repast on what they found in them. Sancho had not thought it worth while to hobble Rocinante, feeling sure, from what he knew of his staidness and freedom from incontinence, that all the mares in the Cordova pastures would not lead him into an impropriety. Chance, however, and the devil, who is not always asleep, so ordained it that feeding in this valley there was a drove of Galician ponies belonging to certain Yanguesan carriers, whose way it is to take their midday rest with their teams in places and spots where grass and water abound; and that where Don Quixote chanced to be suited the Yanguesans' purpose very well. It so happened, then, that Rocinante took a fancy to disport himself with their ladyships the ponies, and abandoning his usual gait and demeanor as he scented them, he, without asking leave of his master, got up a briskish little trot and hastened to make known



his wishes to them; they, however, it seemed, preferred their pasture to him, and received him with their heels and teeth to such effect that they soon broke his girths and left him naked without a saddle to cover him; but what must have been worse to him was that the carriers, seeing the violence he was offering to their mares, came running up armed with stakes, and so belabored him that they brought him sorely battered to the ground.

By this time Don Quixote and Sancho, who had witnessed the drubbing of Rocinante, came up panting, and said Don Quixote to Sancho, "So far as I can see, friend Sancho, these are not knights but base folk of low birth: I mention it because thou canst lawfully aid me in taking due vengeance for the insult offered to Rocinante before our eyes."

"What the devil vengeance can we take," answered Sancho, "if they are more than twenty, and we no more than two, or, indeed, perhaps, not more than one and a half?"

"I count for a hundred," replied Don Quixote, and without more words he drew his sword and attacked the Yanguesans, and incited and impelled by the example of his master, Sancho did the same; and to begin with, Don Quixote delivered a slash at one of them that laid open the leather jerkin he wore, together with a great portion of his shoulder. The Yanguesans, seeing themselves assaulted by only two men while they were so many, betook themselves to their stakes, and driving the two into the middle they began to lay on with great zeal and energy; in fact, at the second blow they brought Sancho to the ground, and Don Quixote fared the same way, all his skill and high mettle availing him nothing, and fate willed it that he should fall at the feet of Rocinante, who had not yet risen; whereby it may seem how furiously stakes can pound in angry boorish hands. Then, seeing the mischief they had done, the Yanguesans with all the haste they could loaded their team and pursued their journey, leaving the two adventurers a sorry sight and in sorrier mood.

Sancho was the first to come to, and finding himself close to his master he called to him in a weak and doleful voice, "Señor Don Quixote, ah, Señor Don Quixote!"

"What wouldst thou, brother Sancho?" answered Don Quixote in the same feeble suffering tone as Sancho.

"I would like, if it were possible," answered Sancho Panza, "your worship to give me a couple of sups of that potion of the fiery Blas, if it be that you have any to hand there; perhaps it will serve for broken bones as well as for wounds."

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"If I only had it here, wretch that I am, what more should we want?" said Don Quixote; "but I swear to thee, Sancho Panza, on the faith of a knight-errant, ere two days are over, unless fortune orders otherwise, I mean to have it in my possession, or my hand will have lost its cunning."

"But in how many days does your worship think we shall have the use of our feet?" answered Sancho Panza.

"For myself I must say I cannot guess how many," said the battered knight Don Quixote; "but I take all the blame upon myself, for I had no business to put hand to sword against men who were not dubbed knights like myself, and so I believe that in punishment for having transgressed the laws of chivalry the God of battles has permitted this chastisement to be administered to me; for which reason, brother Sancho, it is well thou shouldst receive a hint on the matter which I am now about to mention to thee, for it is of much importance to the welfare of both of us. It is that when thou shalt see rabble of this sort offering us insult thou art not to wait till I draw sword against them, for I shall not do so at all; but do thou draw sword and chastise them to thy heart's content, and if any knights come to their aid and defense I will take care to defend thee and assail them with all my might; and thou hast already seen by a thousand signs and proofs what the might of this strong arm of mine is equal to"—so uplifted had the poor gentleman become through the victory over the stout Biscayan.

But Sancho did not so fully approve of his master's admonition as to let it pass without saying in reply, "Señor, I am a man of peace, meek and quiet, and I can put up with any affront because I have a wife and children to support and bring up; so let it be likewise a hint to your worship, as it cannot be a mandate, that on no account will I draw sword either against clown or against knight, and that here before God I forgive all the insults that have been offered me or may be offered me, whether they have been, are, or shall be offered me by high or low, rich or poor, noble or commoner, not excepting any rank or condition whatsoever."

"Know, friend Sancho," answered Don Quixote, "that the life of knights-errant is subject to a thousand dangers and reverses, and neither more nor less is it within immediate possibility for knights-errant to become kings and emperors, as experience has shown in the case of many different knights with whose histories I am thoroughly acquainted; and I could tell thee now, if the pain would let me, of some

who simply by might of arm have risen to the high stations I have mentioned; and those same, both before and after, experienced divers misfortunes and miseries. For I would have thee know, Sancho, that wounds caused by any instruments which happen by chance to be in hand inflict no indignity, and this is laid down in the law of the duel in express words: if, for instance, the cobbler strikes another with the last which he has in his hand, though it be in fact a piece of wood, it cannot be said for that reason that he whom he struck with it has been cudged. I say this lest thou shouldst imagine that because we have been drubbed in this affray we have therefore suffered any indignity; for the arms those men carried, with which they pounded us, were nothing more than their stakes, and not one of them, so far as I remember, carried rapier, sword, or dagger."

"They gave me no time to see that much," answered Sancho, "for hardly had I laid hand on my tizona when they signed the cross on my shoulders with their sticks in such style that they took the sight out of my eyes and the strength out of my feet, stretching me where I now lie, and where thinking of whether all those stake-strokes were an indignity or not gives me no uneasiness, which the pain of the blows does, for they will remain as deeply impressed on my memory as on my shoulders."

"For all that let me tell thee, brother Panza," said Don Quixote, "that there is no recollection which time does not put an end to, and no pain which death does not remove. Pluck strength out of weakness, Sancho, as I mean to do, and let us see how Rocinante is, for it seems to me that not the least share of this mishap has fallen to the lot of the poor beast."

"There is nothing wonderful in that," replied Sancho, "since he is a knight-errant too; what I wonder at is that my beast should have come off scot-free where we come out scotched."

"Fortune always leaves a door open in adversity in order to bring relief to it," said Don Quixote; "I say so, because this little beast may now supply the want of Rocinante, carrying me hence to some castle where I may be cured of my wounds. And moreover I shall not hold it any dishonor to be so mounted, for I remember having read how the good old Silenus went very contentedly mounted on a handsome ass."

"It may be true that he went mounted as your worship says," answered Sancho, "but there is a great difference between going mounted and going slung like a sack of manure."

To which Don Quixote replied, "Wounds received in battle confer

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honor instead of taking it away; and so, friend Panza, say no more, but, as I told thee before, get up as well as thou canst and put me on top of thy beast in whatever fashion pleases thee best, and let us go hence ere night come on and surprise us in these wilds."

To be brief, Sancho fixed Don Quixote on the ass and secured Rocinante with a leading rein, and taking the ass by the halter, he proceeded more or less in the direction in which it seemed to him the high road might be; and, as chance was conducting their affairs for them from good to better, he had not gone a short league when the road came in sight, and on it he perceived an inn, which to his annoyance and to the delight of Don Quixote must needs be a castle.

## CHAPTER 16

THE INNKEEPER, seeing Don Quixote slung across the ass, asked Sancho what was amiss with him. Sancho answered that it was nothing, only that he had fallen down from a rock and had his ribs a little bruised. The innkeeper had a wife whose disposition was not such as those of her calling commonly have, for she was by nature kind-hearted and felt for the sufferings of her neighbors, so she at once set about tending Don Quixote, and made her young daughter, a very comely girl, help her in taking care of her guest. There was besides in the inn, as servant, an Asturian lass with a broad face, flat poll, and snub nose, blind of one eye and not very sound in the other. The elegance of her shape, to be sure, made up for all her defects; she did not measure seven palms from head to foot, and her shoulders, which over-weighted her somewhat, made her contemplate the ground more than she liked. This graceful lass, then, helped the young girl, and the two made up a very bad bed for Don Quixote in a garret that showed evident signs of having formerly served for many years as a straw-loft, in which there was also quartered a carrier whose bed was placed a little beyond our Don Quixote's, and, though only made of the pack-saddles and cloths of his mules, had much the advantage of it, as Don Quixote's consisted simply of four rough boards on two not very even trestles, a mattress, that for thinness might have passed for a quilt, full of pellets, which, were they not seen through the rents to be wool, would to the touch have seemed pebbles in hardness, two sheets made of buckler leather, and a coverlet the threads of which

anyone that chose might have counted without missing one in the reckoning.

On this accursed bed Don Quixote stretched himself, and the hostess and her daughter soon covered him with plasters from top to toe, while Maritornes—for that was the name of the Asturian—held the light for them, and while plastering him, the hostess, observing how full of welts Don Quixote was in some places, remarked that this had more the look of blows than of a fall.

It was not blows, Sancho said, but that the rock had many points and projections, and that each of them had left its mark. "Pray, señora," he added, "manage to save some tow, as there will be no want of someone to use it, for my loins too are rather sore."

"Then you must have fallen too," said the hostess.

"I did not fall," said Sancho Panza, "but from the shock I got at seeing my master fall, my body aches so that I feel as if I had had a thousand thwacks."

"That may well be," said the young girl, "for it has many a time happened to me to dream that I was falling down from a tower and never coming to the ground, and when I awoke from the dream to find myself as weak and shaken as if I had really fallen."

"There is the point, señora," replied Sancho Panza, "that I without dreaming at all, but being more awake than I am now, find myself with scarcely less welts than my master, Don Quixote."

"How is the gentleman called?" asked Maritornes the Asturian.

"Don Quixote of La Mancha," answered Sancho Panza, "and he is a knight-adventurer, and one of the best and stoutest that have been seen in the world this long time past."

"What is a knight-adventurer?" said the lass.

"Are you so new in the world as not to know?" answered Sancho Panza. "Well, then, you must know, sister, that a knight-adventurer is a thing that in two words is seen drubbed and emperor, that is today the most miserable and needy being in the world, and tomorrow will have two or three crowns of kingdoms to give his squire."

"Then how is it," said the hostess, "that, belonging to so good a master as this, you have not, to judge by appearances, even so much as a county?"

"It is too soon yet," answered Sancho, "for we have only been a month going in quest of adventures, and so far we have met with nothing that can be called one, for it will happen that when one thing is looked for another thing is found; however, if my master Don

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Quixote gets well of this wound, or fall, and I am left none the worse of it, I would not change my hopes for the best title in Spain."

To all this conversation Don Quixote was listening very attentively, and sitting up in bed as well as he could, and taking the hostess by the hand he said to her, "Believe me, fair lady, you may call yourself fortunate in having in this castle of yours sheltered my person, which is such that if I do not myself praise it, it is because of what is commonly said, that self-praise debaseth; but my squire will inform you who I am."

The hostess, her daughter, and the worthy Maritornes listened in bewilderment to the words of the knight-errant, for they understood about as much of them as if he had been talking Greek, though they could perceive they were all meant for expressions of good-will and blandishments; and not being accustomed to this kind of language, they stared at him and wondered to themselves, for he seemed to them a man of a different sort from those they were used to, and thanking him in pot-house phrase for his civility they left him, while the Asturian gave her attention to Sancho, who needed it no less than his master.

## CHAPTER 17

*[When day comes, Don Quixote mixes the Balsam of Fierabras (a foul concoction of vinegar, salt, oil, and spices) and takes a dose. After vomiting and sweating profusely, he sleeps and awakes much refreshed. Sancho, eager to heal his aches and pains, swallows a larger portion and becomes very ill.]*

SANCHO sweated and perspired with such paroxysms and convulsions that not only he himself but all present thought his end had come. This tempest and tribulation lasted about two hours, at the end of which he was left, not like his master, but so weak and exhausted that he could not stand. Don Quixote, however, who, as has been said, felt himself relieved and well, was eager to take his departure at once in quest of adventures, as it seemed to him that all the time he loitered there was a fraud upon the world and those in it who stood in need of his help and protection, all the more when he had the security and confidence his balsam afforded him; and so, urged by this impulse, he saddled Rocinante himself and put the pack-saddle on his squire's

beast, whom likewise he helped to dress and mount the ass; after which he mounted his horse and turning to a corner of the inn he laid hold of a pike that stood there, to serve him by way of a lance. All that were in the inn, who were more than twenty persons, stood watching him; the innkeeper's daughter was likewise observing him, and he too never took his eyes off her, and from time to time fetched a sigh that he seemed to pluck up from the depths of his bowels; but they all thought it must be from the pain he felt in his ribs; at any rate they who had seen him plastered the night before thought so.

As soon as they were both mounted, at the gate of the inn, he called to the host and said in a very grave and measured voice, "Many and great are the favors, Señor Alcaide, that I have received in this castle of yours, and I remain under the deepest obligation to be grateful to you for them all the days of my life; if I can repay them in avenging you of any arrogant foe who may have wronged you, know that my calling is no other than to aid the weak, and to avenge those who suffer wrong, and to chastise perfidy. Search your memory, and if you find anything of this kind you need only tell me of it, and I promise you by the order of knighthood which I have received to procure you satisfaction and reparation to the utmost of your desire."

The innkeeper replied to him with equal calmness, "Sir Knight, I do not want your worship to avenge me of any wrong, because when any is done me I can take what vengeance seems good to me; the only thing I want is that you pay me the score that you have run up in the inn last night, as well for the straw and barley for your two beasts, as for supper and beds."

"Then this is an inn?" said Don Quixote.

"And a very respectable one," said the innkeeper.

"I have been under a mistake all this time," answered Don Quixote, "for in truth I thought it was a castle, and not a bad one; but since it appears that it is not a castle but an inn, all that can be done now is that you should excuse the payment, for I can not contravene the rule of knights-errant, of whom I know as a fact (and up to the present I have read nothing to the contrary) that they never paid for lodging or anything else in the inn where they might be; for any hospitality that might be offered them is their due by law and right in return for the insufferable toil they endure in seeking adventures by night and by day, summer and in winter, on foot and on horseback, in hunger and thirst, cold and heat, exposed to all the inclemencies of heaven and all the hardships of earth."

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"I have little to do with that," replied the innkeeper; "pay me what you owe me, and let us have no more talk of chivalry, for all I care about is to get to my money."

"You are a stupid, scurvy innkeeper," said Don Quixote, and putting spurs to Rocinante and bringing his pike to the slope he rode out of the inn before anyone could stop him, and pushed on some distance without looking to see if his squire was following him.

The innkeeper, when he saw him go without paying him, ran to get payment of Sancho, who said that as his master would not pay neither would he, because, being as he was squire to a knight-errant, the same rule and reason held good for him as for his master with regard to not paying anything in inns and hostelries. At this the innkeeper waxed very wroth, and threatened if he did not pay to compel him in a way that he would not like. To which Sancho made answer that by the law of chivalry his master had received he would not pay a rap, though it cost him his life; for the excellent and ancient usage of knights-errant was not going to be violated by him, nor should the squires of such as were yet to come into the world ever complain of him or reproach him with breaking so just a law.

The ill-luck of the unfortunate Sancho so ordered it that among the company in the inn there were four wool-carders from Segovia, three needle-makers from the Colt of Cordova, and two lodgers from the Fair of Seville, lively fellows, tender-hearted, fond of a joke, and playful, who, almost as if instigated and moved by a common impulse, made up to Sancho and dismounted him from his ass, while one of them went in for the blanket of the host's bed; but on flinging him into it they looked up, and seeing that the ceiling was somewhat lower than what they required for their work, they decided upon going out into the yard, which was bounded by the sky, and there, putting Sancho in the middle of the blanket, they began to make sport with him as they would with a dog at Shrovetide. The cries of the poor blanketed wretch were so loud that they reached the ears of his master, who, halting to listen attentively, was persuaded that some new adventure was coming, until he clearly perceived that it was his squire who uttered them. Wheeling about he came up to the inn with a laborious gallop, and finding it shut went round it to see if he could find some way of getting in; but as soon as he came to the wall of the yard, which was not very high, he discovered the game that was being played with his squire. He saw him rising and falling in the air with such grace and nimbleness that, had his rage allowed him, it is my



belief he would have laughed. He tried to climb from his horse onto the top of the wall, but he was so bruised and battered that he could not even dismount; and so from the back of his horse he began to utter such maledictions and oburgations against those who were blanketing Sancho as it would be impossible to write down accurately: they, however, did not stay their laughter or their work for this, nor did the flying Sancho cease his lamentations, mingled now with threats, now with entreaties, but all to little purpose, or none at all, until from pure weariness they left off. They then brought him his ass, and mounting him on top of it they put his jacket round him; and the compassionate Maritornes, seeing him so exhausted, thought fit to refresh him with a jug of water, and that it might be all the cooler she fetched it from the well. Sancho took it, and as he was raising it to his mouth he was stopped by the cries of his master exclaiming, "Sancho, my son, drink not water; drink it not, my son, for it will kill thee; see, here I have the blessed balsam (and he held up the flask of liquor), and with drinking two drops of it thou wilt certainly be restored."

At these words Sancho turned his eyes askint, and in a still louder voice said, "Can it be your worship has forgotten that I am not a knight, or do you want me to end by vomiting up what bowels I have left after last night? Keep your liquor in the name of all the devils, and leave me to myself!"

## CHAPTER 18

SANCHO reached his master so limp and faint that he could not urge on his beast. When Don Quixote saw the state he was in he said, "I have now come to the conclusion, good Sancho, that this castle or inn is beyond a doubt enchanted, because those who have so atrociously diverted themselves with thee, what can they be but phantoms or beings of another world? and I hold this confirmed by having noticed that when I was by the wall of the yard witnessing the acts of thy sad tragedy, it was out of my power to mount upon it, nor could I even dismount from Rocinante, because they no doubt had me enchanted; for I swear to thee by the faith of what I am that if I had been able to climb up or dismount, I would have avenged thee in such a way that those braggart thieves would have remembered

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their freak forever, even though in so doing I knew that I contravened the laws of chivalry, which, as I have often told thee, do not permit a knight to lay hands on him who is not one, save in case of urgent and great necessity in defense of his own life and person."

"I would have avenged myself too if I could," said Sancho, "whether I had been dubbed knight or not, but I could not; though for my part I am persuaded those who amused themselves with me were not phantoms or enchanted men, as your worship says, but men of flesh and bone like ourselves; and they all had their names, for I heard them name them when they were tossing me, and one was called Pedro Martinez, and another Tenorio Hernandez, and the innkeeper, I heard, was called Juan Palomeque the Left-handed; so that, señor, your not being able to leap over the wall of the yard or dismount from your horse came of something else besides enchantments; and what I make out clearly from all this is, that these adventures we go seeking will in the end lead us into such misadventures that we shall not know which is our right foot; and that the best and wisest thing, according to my small wits, would be for us to return home, now that it is harvest-time, and attend to our business, and give over wandering from Zeca to Mecca and from pail to bucket, as the saying is."

"How little thou knowest about chivalry, Sancho," replied Don Quixote; "hold thy peace and have patience; the day will come when thou shalt see with thine own eyes what an honorable thing it is to wander in the pursuit of this calling; nay, tell me, what greater pleasure can there be in the world, or what delight can equal that of winning a battle, and triumphing over one's enemy? None, beyond all doubt."

"Very likely," answered Sancho, "though I do not know it; all I know is that since we have been knights-errant, or since your worship has been one (for I have no right to reckon myself one of so honorable a number), we have never won any battle except the one with the Biscayan, and even out of that your worship came with half an ear and half a helmet the less; and from that till now it has been all cudgelings and more cudgelings, cuffs and more cuffs, I getting the blanketing over and above, and falling in with enchanted persons on whom I cannot avenge myself so as to know what the delight, as your worship calls it, of conquering an enemy is like."

Thus talking, Don Quixote and his squire were going along, when, on the road they were following, Don Quixote perceived approaching

them a large and thick cloud of dust, on seeing which he turned to Sancho and said, "This is the day, O Sancho, on which will be seen the boon my fortune is reserving for me; this, I say, is the day on which as much as on any other shall be displayed the might of my arm, and on which I shall do deeds that shall remain written in the book of fame for all ages to come. Seest thou that cloud of dust which rises yonder? Well, then, all that is churned up by a vast army composed of various and countless nations that comes marching there."

"According to that there must be two," said Sancho, "for on this opposite side also there rises just such another cloud of dust."

Don Quixote turned to look and found that it was true, and rejoicing exceedingly, he concluded that they were two armies about to engage and encounter in the midst of that broad plain; for at all times and seasons his fancy was full of the battles, enchantments, adventures, crazy feats, loves, and defiances that are recorded in the books of chivalry, and everything he said, thought, or did had reference to such things. Now the cloud of dust he had seen was raised by two great droves of sheep coming along the same road in opposite directions, which, because of the dust, did not become visible until they drew near, but Don Quixote asserted so positively that they were armies that Sancho was led to believe it and say, "Well, and what are we to do, señor?"

"What?" said Don Quixote; "give aid and assistance to the weak and those who need it; and thou must know, Sancho, that this which comes opposite to us is conducted and led by the mighty emperor Alifanfaron, lord of the great isle of Trapobana; this other that marches behind me is that of his enemy the king of the Garamantas, Pentapolin of the Bare Arm, for he always goes into battle with his right arm bare."

"But why are these two lords such enemies?" asked Sancho.

"They are at enmity," replied Don Quixote, "because this Alifanfaron is a furious pagan and is in love with the daughter of Pentapolin, who is a very beautiful and moreover gracious lady, and a Christian, and her father is unwilling to bestow her upon the pagan king unless he first abandons the religion of his false prophet Mahomet, and adopts his own."

"By my beard," said Sancho, "but Pentapolin does quite right, and I will help him as much as I can."

"In that thou wilt do what is thy duty, Sancho," said Don Quixote; "for to engage in battles of this sort it is not requisite to be a dubbed

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knight. But attend to me and observe, for I wish to give thee some account of the chief knights who accompany these two armies; and that thou mayest the better see and mark, let us withdraw to that hillock which rises yonder, whence both armies may be seen."

Sancho said to him, "Señor, devil take it if there's a sign of any man you talk of, knight or giant, in the whole thing; maybe it's all enchantment, like the phantoms last night."

"How canst thou say that!" answered Don Quixote; "dost thou not hear the neighing of the steeds, the braying of the trumpets, the roll of the drums?"

"I hear nothing but a great bleating of ewes and sheep," said Sancho; which was true, for by this time the two flocks had come close.

"The fear thou art in, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "prevents thee from seeing or hearing correctly, for one of the effects of fear is to derange the senses and make things appear different from what they are; if thou art in such fear, withdraw to one side and leave me to myself, for alone I suffice to bring victory to that side to which I shall give my aid"; and so saying he gave Rocinante the spur, and putting the lance in rest, shot down the slope like a thunderbolt. Sancho shouted after him, crying, "Come back, Señor Don Quixote; I vow to God they are sheep and ewes you are charging! Come back! Unlucky the father that begot me! what madness is this! Look, there is no giant, nor knight, nor cats, nor arms, nor shields quartered or whole, nor cups azure or bedeviled. What are you about? Sinner that I am before God!" But not for all these entreaties did Don Quixote turn back; on the contrary he went on shouting out, "Ho, knights, ye who follow and fight under the banners of the valiant emperor Pentapolin of the Bare Arm, follow me all; ye shall see how easily I shall give him his revenge over his enemy Alifanfaron of Trapobana."

So saying, he dashed into the midst of the squadron of ewes, and began spearing them with as much spirit and intrepidity as if he were transfixing mortal enemies in earnest. The shepherds and drovers accompanying the flock shouted to him to desist; but seeing it was no use, they ungirt their slings and began to salute his ears with stones, as big as one's fist. Don Quixote gave no heed to the stones, but, letting drive right and left, kept saying, "Where art thou, proud Alifanfaron?" Here came a sugar-plum from the brook that struck him on the side and buried a couple of ribs in his body. Feeling himself so smitten, he imagined himself slain or badly wounded for certain, and

recollecting his liquor he drew out his flask, and putting it to his mouth began to pour the contents into his stomach; but ere he had succeeded in swallowing what seemed to him enough, there came another almond which struck him on the hand and on the flask so fairly that it smashed it to pieces, knocking three or four teeth and grinders out of his mouth in its course, and sorely crushing two fingers of his hand. Such was the force of the first blow and of the second, that the poor knight in spite of himself came down backwards off his horse. The shepherds came up, and felt sure they had killed him; so in all haste they collected their flock together, took up the dead beasts, of which there were more than seven, and made off without waiting to ascertain anything further.

All this time Sancho stood on the hill watching the crazy feats his master was performing, and tearing his beard and cursing the hour and the occasion when fortune had made him acquainted with him. Seeing him, then, brought to the ground, and that the shepherds had taken themselves off, he came down the hill and ran to him and found him in very bad case, though not unconscious; and said he, "Did I not tell you to come back, Señor Don Quixote; and that what you were going to attack were not armies but droves of sheep?"

"That's how that thief of a sage, my enemy, can alter and falsify things," answered Don Quixote; "thou must know, Sancho, that it is a very easy matter for those of his sort to make us take what form they choose; and this malignant being who persecutes me, envious of the glory he knew I was to win in this battle, has turned the squadrons of the enemy into droves of sheep."

Don Quixote now rose, and putting his left hand to his mouth to keep his teeth from falling out altogether, with the other he laid hold of the bridle of Rocinante, who had never stirred from his master's side—so loyal and well-behaved was he—and betook himself to where the squire stood leaning over his ass with his hand to his cheek, like one in deep dejection. Seeing him in this mood, looking so sad, Don Quixote said to him, "Bear in mind, Sancho, that one man is no more than another, unless he does more than another; all these tempests that fall upon us are signs that fair weather is coming shortly, and that things will go well with us, for it is impossible for good or evil to last forever; and hence it follows that the evil having lasted long, the good must be now nigh at hand; so thou must not distress thyself at the misfortunes which happen to me, since thou hast no share in them."

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"How have I not?" replied Sancho; "was he whom they blanketed yesterday perchance any other than my father's son? and the alforjas that are missing today with all my treasures, did they belong to any other but myself?"

"What! are the alforjas missing, Sancho?" said Don Quixote.

"Yes, they are missing," answered Sancho.

"In that case we have nothing to eat today," replied Don Quixote.

"It would be so," answered Sancho, "if there were none of the herbs your worship says you know in these meadows, those with which knights-errant as unlucky as your worship are wont to supply such-like shortcomings."

"For all that," answered Don Quixote, "I would rather have just now a quarter of bread, or a loaf and a couple of pilchards' heads. Nevertheless, Sancho the Good, mount thy beast and come along with me, for God, who provides for all things, will not fail us (more especially when we are so active in his service as we are), since he fails not the midges of the air, nor the grubs of the earth, nor the tadpoles of the water, and is so merciful that he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

"Your worship would make a better preacher than knight-errant," said Sancho.

"Knights-errant knew and ought to know everything, Sancho," said Don Quixote; "for there were knights-errant in former times as well qualified to deliver a sermon or discourse in the middle of a highway as if they had graduated in the University of Paris; whereby we may see that the lance has never blunted the pen, nor the pen the lance."

"Well, be it as your worship says," replied Sancho; "let us be off now and find some place of shelter for the night, and God grant it may be somewhere where there are no blankets, nor blanketeers, nor phantoms, nor enchanted Moors; for if there are, may the devil take the whole concern."

*[Night falls as the pair search for a resting place. In the darkness a group of robed figures approach, carrying torches. Don Quixote dashes into the party and knocks one of the men off his mule. The rest flee.]*

## CHAPTER 19

SANCHO beheld all this in astonishment at the intrepidity of his lord, and said to himself, "Clearly this master of mine is as bold and valiant as he says he is."

A burning torch lay on the ground near the first man whom the mule had thrown, by the light of which Don Quixote perceived him, and coming up to him he presented the point of the lance to his face, calling on him to yield himself prisoner, or else he would kill him; to which the prostrate man replied, "I am prisoner enough as it is; I can not stir, for one of my legs is broken: I entreat you, if you be a Christian gentleman, not to kill me, which will be committing grave sacrilege, for I am a licentiate and I hold first orders."

"Then what the devil brought you here, being a churchman?" asked Don Quixote.

"What, señor?" said the other. "My bad luck."

"Then still worse awaits you," said Don Quixote, "if you don't satisfy me as to all I asked you at first."

"You shall be soon satisfied," said the licentiate; "you must know, then, that though just now I said I was a licentiate, I am only a bachelor, and my name is Alonzo Lopez; I am a native of Alcobendas, I come from the city of Baeza with eleven others, priests, the same who fled with the torches, and we are going to the city of Segovia accompanying a dead body which is in that litter and is that of a gentleman who died in Baeza, where he was interred; and now, as I said, we are taking his bones to their burial-place, which is in Segovia, where he was born."

"And who killed him?" asked Don Quixote.

"God, by means of a malignant fever that took him," answered the bachelor.

"In that case," said Don Quixote, "the Lord has relieved me of the task of avenging his death had any other slain him; but, he who slew him having slain him, there is nothing for it but to be silent, and shrug one's shoulders; I should do the same were he to slay myself: and I would have your reverence know that I am a knight of La Mancha, Don Quixote by name, and it is my business and calling to roam the world righting wrongs and redressing injuries."

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"I do not know how that about righting wrongs can be," said the bachelor, "for from straight you have made me crooked, leaving me with a broken leg that will never see itself straight again all the days of its life; and the injury you have redressed in my case has been to leave me injured in such a way that I shall remain injured forever; and the height of misadventure it was to fall in with you who go in search of adventures."

"Things do not always happen in the same way," answered Don Quixote; "it all came, Sir Bachelor Alonzo Lopez, of your going, as you did, by night, dressed in those surplices, with lighted torches, praying, covered with mourning, so that naturally you looked like something evil and of the other world; and so I could not avoid doing my duty in attacking you, and I should have attacked you even had I known positively that you were the very devils of hell, for such I certainly believed and took you to be."

"As my fate has so willed it," said the bachelor, "I entreat you, Sir Knight-errant, whose errand has been such an evil one for me, to help me to get from under this mule that holds one of my legs caught between the stirrup and the saddle."

"I would have talked on till tomorrow," said Don Quixote; "how long were you going to wait before telling me of your distress?"

He at once called to Sancho, who, however, had no mind to come, as he was just then engaged in unloading a sumpter mule, well laden with provender, which these worthy gentlemen had brought with them. Sancho made a bag of his coat, and, getting together as much as he could, and as the mule's sack would hold, he loaded his beast, and then hastened to obey his master's call, and helped him to remove the bachelor from under the mule; then putting him on her back he gave him the torch, and Don Quixote bade him follow the track of his companions, and beg pardon of them on his part for the wrong which he could not help doing them.

And said Sancho, "If by chance these gentlemen should want to know who was the hero that served them so, your worship may tell them that he is the famous Don Quixote of La Mancha, otherwise called the Knight of the Rueful Countenance."

The bachelor then took his departure. I forgot to mention that before he did so he said to Don Quixote, "Remember that you stand excommunicated for having laid violent hands on a holy thing, *juxta illud, si quis, suadente diabolus*."

"I do not understand that Latin," answered Don Quixote, "but I



know well I did not lay hands, only on this pike; besides, I did not think I was committing an assault upon priests or things of the Church, which, like a Catholic and faithful Christian as I am, I respect and revere, but upon phantoms and specters of the other world."

On hearing this the bachelor took his departure, as has been said, without making any reply; and Don Quixote asked Sancho what had induced him to call him the "Knight of the Rueful Countenance" more than at any other time.

"I will tell you," answered Sancho; "it was because I have been looking at you for some time by the light of the torch held by that unfortunate, and verily your worship has got of late the most ill-favored countenance I ever saw: it must be either owing to the fatigue of this combat, or else to the want of teeth and grinders."

"It is not that," replied Don Quixote, "but because the sage whose duty it will be to write the history of my achievements must have thought it proper that I should take some distinctive name as all knights of yore did; one being 'He of the Burning Sword,' another 'He of the Unicorn,' this one 'He of the Damsels,' that 'He of the Phoenix,' another 'The Knight of the Griffin,' and another 'He of the Death,' and by these names and designations they were known all the world round; and so I say that the sage aforesaid must have put it into your mouth and mind just now to call me 'The Knight of the Rueful Countenance,' as I intend to call myself from this day forward; and that the said name may fit me better, I mean, when the opportunity offers, to have a very rueful countenance painted on my shield."

"There is no occasion, señor, for wasting time or money on making that countenance," said Sancho; "for all that need be done is for your worship to show your own, face to face, to those who look at you, and without anything more, either image or shield, they will call you 'Him of the Rueful Countenance.'"

Don Quixote would have looked to see whether the body in the litter were bones or not, but Sancho would not have it, saying, "Señor, you have ended this perilous adventure more safely for yourself than any of those I have seen: perhaps these people, though beaten and routed, may bethink themselves that it is a single man that has beaten them, and feeling sore and ashamed of it may take heart and come in search of us and give us trouble enough. The ass is in proper trim, the mountains are near at hand, hunger presses, we have nothing more to do but make good our retreat, and, as the saying is, let the dead go to the grave and the living to the loaf"; and driving his ass before him he

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begged his master to follow, who, feeling that Sancho was right, did so without replying; and after proceeding some little distance between two hills they found themselves in a wide and retired valley, where they alighted, and Sancho unloaded his beast, and stretched upon the green grass, with hunger for sauce, they breakfasted, dined, lunched, and supped all at once, satisfying their appetites with more than one store of cold meat which the dead man's clerical gentlemen had brought with them on their sumpter mule. But another piece of ill-luck befell them, which Sancho held the worst of all, and that was that they had no wine to drink, nor even water to moisten their lips; and as thirst tormented them, Sancho, observing that the meadow where they were was full of green and tender grass, said what will be told in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 20

**I**T CANNOT be, señor, but that this grass is a proof that there must be hard by some spring or brook to give it moisture, so it would be well to move a little farther on, that we may find some place where we may quench this terrible thirst that plagues us, which beyond a doubt is more distressing than hunger."

The advice seemed good to Don Quixote, and, he leading Rocinante by the bridle and Sancho the ass by the halter, after he had packed away upon him the remains of the supper, they advanced up the meadow feeling their way, for the darkness of the night made it impossible to see anything; but they had not gone two hundred paces when a loud noise of water, as if falling from great high rocks, struck their ears. The sound cheered them greatly; but halting to make out by listening from what quarter it came they heard unseasonably another noise which spoiled the satisfaction the sound of the water gave them, especially for Sancho, who was by nature timid and faint-hearted; they heard, I say, strokes falling with a measured beat, and a certain rattling of iron and chains that, together with the furious din of the water, would have struck terror into any heart but Don Quixote's. The night was, as has been said, dark, and they had happened to reach a spot in among some tall trees, whose leaves stirred by a gentle breeze made a low ominous sound; so that, what with the solitude, the place, the darkness, the noise of the water, and the

rustling of the leaves, everything inspired awe and dread; more especially as they perceived that the strokes did not cease, nor the wind lull, nor morning approach; to all which might be added their ignorance as to where they were.

But Don Quixote, supported by his intrepid heart, leaped on Rocinante, and bracing his buckler on his arm, brought his pike to the slope, and said, "Friend Sancho, know that I by Heaven's will have been born in this our iron age to revive in it the age of gold, or the golden as it is called; I am he for whom perils, mighty achievements, and valiant deeds are reserved. Well, then, all this is but an incentive and stimulant to my spirit, making my heart burst in my bosom through eagerness to engage in this adventure, arduous as it promises to be; therefore tighten Rocinante's girths a little, and God be with thee; wait for me here three days and no more, and if in that time I come not back, thou canst return to our village, and thence, to do me a favor and a service, thou wilt go to El Toboso, where thou shalt say to my incomparable lady Dulcinea that her captive knight hath died in attempting things that might make him worthy of being called hers."

When Sancho heard his master's words he began to weep in the most pathetic way, saying, "Señor, I know not why your worship wants to attempt this so dreadful adventure; it is night now, no one sees us here, we can easily turn about and take ourselves out of danger, even if we don't drink for three days to come; and as there is no one to see us, all the less will there be anyone to set us down as cowards. I left home and wife and children to come and serve your worship, trusting to do better and not worse; but, as covetousness bursts the bag, it has rent my hopes asunder, for just as I had them highest about getting that wretched unlucky island your worship has so often promised me, I see that instead and in lieu of it you mean to desert me now in a place so far from human reach; for God's sake, master mine, deal not so unjustly by me, and if your worship will not entirely give up attempting this feat, at least put it off till morning, for by what the lore I learned when I was a shepherd tells me it cannot wait three hours of dawn now."

"Let it wait what it may," replied Don Quixote, "it shall not be said of me now or at any time that tears or entreaties turned me aside from doing what was in accordance with knightly usage; and so I beg of thee, Sancho, to hold thy peace, for God, who has put it into my heart to undertake now this so unexampled and terrible adventure."

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Sancho perceiving it his master's final resolve, and how little his tears, counsels, and entreaties prevailed with him, determined to have recourse to his own ingenuity and compel him if he could to wait till daylight; and so, while tightening the girths of the horse, he quietly and without being felt, tied both Rocinante's fore-legs, so that when Don Quixote strove to go he was unable, as the horse could only move by jumps. Seeing the success of his trick, Sancho Panza said, "See there, señor! Heaven, moved by my tears and prayers, has so ordered it that Rocinante cannot stir; and if you will be obstinate, and spur and strike him, you will only provoke fortune, and kick, as they say, against the pricks."

Don Quixote at this grew desperate, but the more he drove his heels into the horse, the less he stirred him; and not having any suspicion of the tying, he was fain to resign himself and wait till day-break or until Rocinante could move, firmly persuaded that all this came of something other than Sancho's ingenuity. So he said to him, "As it is so, Sancho, and as Rocinante cannot move, I am content to wait till dawn smiles upon us, even though I weep while it delays its coming."

"Be not angry, master mine," replied Sancho, and coming close to him he laid one hand on the pommel of the saddle and the other on the cantle, so that he held his master's left thigh in his embrace, not daring to separate a finger's length from him; so much afraid was he of the strokes which still resounded with a regular beat.

With this talk master and man passed the night, till Sancho, perceiving that daybreak was coming on apace, very cautiously untied Rocinante. As soon as Rocinante found himself free, though by nature he was not at all mettlesome, he seemed to feel lively and began pawing—for as to capering, begging his pardon, he knew not what it meant. Don Quixote, then, observing that Rocinante could move, took it as a good sign and a signal that he should attempt the dread adventure. By this time day had fully broken and everything showed distinctly, and Don Quixote saw that he was among some tall trees, chestnuts, which cast a very deep shade; he perceived likewise that the sound of the strokes did not cease, but could not discover what caused it, and so without any further delay he let Rocinante feel the spur, and once more taking leave of Sancho, he told him to wait for him there three days at most, as he had said before, and if he should not have returned by that time, he might feel sure it had been God's will that he should end his days in that perilous adventure. He again re-

peated the message and commission with which he was to go on his behalf to his lady Dulcinea, and said he was not to be uneasy as to the payment of his services, for before leaving home he had made his will, in which he would find himself fully recompensed in the matter of wages in due proportion to the time he had served; but if God delivered him safe, sound, and unhurt out of that danger, he might look upon the promised island as much more than certain. Sancho began weeping afresh on again hearing the affecting words of his good master, and resolved to stay with him until the final issue and end of the business.

Sancho followed him on foot, leading by the halter, as his custom was, his ass, his constant comrade in prosperity or adversity; and advancing some distance through the shady chestnut trees they came upon a little meadow at the foot of some high rocks, down which a mighty rush of water flung itself. At the foot of the rocks were some rudely constructed houses looking more like ruins than houses, from among which came, they perceived, the din and clatter of blows, which still continued without intermission. Rocinante took fright at the noise of the water and of the blows, but quieting him Don Quixote advanced step by step towards the houses, commending himself with all his heart to his lady, imploring her support in that dread pass and enterprise, and on the way commending himself to God, too, not to forget him. Sancho, who never quitted his side, stretched his neck as far as he could and peered between the legs of Rocinante to see if he could now discover what it was that caused him such fear and apprehension. They went it might be a hundred paces farther, when on turning a corner the true cause, beyond the possibility of any mistake, of that dread-sounding and to them awe-inspiring noise that had kept them all the night in such fear and perplexity, appeared plain and obvious; and it was (if, reader, thou art not disgusted and disappointed) six fulling hammers which by their alternate strokes made all the din.

When Don Quixote perceived what it was, he was struck dumb and rigid from head to foot. Sancho glanced at him and saw him with his head bent down upon his breast in manifest mortification; and Don Quixote glanced at Sancho and saw him with his cheeks puffed out and his mouth full of laughter, and evidently ready to explode with it, and in spite of his vexation he could not help laughing at the sight of him; and when Sancho saw his master begin he let go so heartily that he had to hold his sides with both hands to keep himself from bursting with laughter. Four times he stopped, and as many times did his

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laughter break out afresh with the same violence as at first, whereat Don Quixote was so mortified and vexed that he lifted up his pike and smote him two such blows that if, instead of catching them on his shoulders, he had caught them on his head, there would have been no wages to pay, unless indeed to his heirs. Sancho seeing that he was getting an awkward return in earnest for his jest, and fearing his master might carry it still further, said to him very humbly, "Calm yourself, sir, for by God I am only joking."

"Well, then, if you are joking I am not," replied Don Quixote. "Look here, my lively gentleman, if these, instead of being fulling hammers, had been some perilous adventure, have I not, think you, shown the courage required for the attempt and achievement? Am I, perchance, being, as I am, a gentleman, bound to know and distinguish sounds and tell whether they come from fulling mills or not; and that, when perhaps, as is the case, I have never in my life seen any as you have, low boor as you are, that have been born and bred among them? But turn me these six hammers into six giants, and bring them to beard me, one by one or all together, and if I do not knock them head over heels, then make what mockery you like of me."

"No more of that, señor," returned Sancho; "I own I went a little too far with the joke."

## CHAPTER 21

IT NOW began to rain a little, and Sancho was for going into the fulling mills, but Don Quixote had taken such a disgust to them on account of the late joke that he would not enter them on any account; so turning aside to the right they came upon another road, different from that which they had taken the night before. Shortly afterwards Don Quixote perceived a man on horseback who wore on his head something that shone like gold, and the moment he saw him he turned to Sancho and said, "I think, Sancho, there is no proverb that is not true, all being maxims drawn from experience itself, the mother of all the sciences, especially that one that says, 'Where one door shuts, another opens.' I say so because if last night fortune shut the door of the adventure we were looking for against us, cheating us with the fulling mills, it now opens wide another one for another better and more certain adventure, and if I do not contrive to enter it, it will be my own fault, and I cannot lay it to my ignorance of fulling mills, or the dark-

ness of the night. I say this because, if I mistake not, there comes toward us one who wears on his head the helmet of Mambrino, concerning which I took the oath thou rememberest."

"What I see and make out," answered Sancho, "is only a man on a gray ass like my own, who has something that shines on his head."

"Well, that is the helmet of Mambrino," said Don Quixote; "stand to one side and leave me alone with him; thou shalt see how, without saying a word, to save time, I shall bring this adventure to an issue and possess myself of the helmet I have so longed for."

The fact of the matter as regards the helmet, steed, and knight that Don Quixote saw, was this. In that neighborhood there were two villages, one of them so small that it had neither apothecary's shop, nor barber, which the other that was close to it had, so the barber of the larger served the smaller, and in it there was a sick man who required to be bled and another man who wanted to be shaved, and on this errand the barber was going, carrying with him a brass basin; but as luck would have it, as he was on the way it began to rain, and not to spoil his hat, which probably was a new one, he put the basin on his head, and being clean it glittered at half a league's distance. He rode upon a gray ass, as Sancho said, and this was what made it seem to Don Quixote to be a dapple-gray steed and a knight and a golden helmet; for everything he saw he made to fall in with his crazy chivalry and ill errant notions; and when he saw the poor knight draw near, without entering into any parley with him, at Rocinante's top speed he bore down upon him with the pike pointed low, fully determined to run him through and through, and as he reached him, without checking the fury of his charge, he cried to him, "Defend thyself, miserable being, or yield me of thine own accord that which is so reasonably my due."

The barber, who without any expectation or apprehension of it saw this apparition coming down upon him, had no other way of saving himself from the stroke of the lance but to let himself fall off his ass; and no sooner had he touched the ground than he sprang up more nimbly than a deer and sped away across the plain faster than the wind

He left the basin on the ground, with which Don Quixote contented himself. He told Sancho to pick up the helmet, and he taking it in his hands said, "By God the basin is a good one, and worth a real of eight if it is worth a maravedi," and handed it to his master, who immediately put it on his head, turning it round, now this way, now that, in search of the visor, and not finding it he said, "Clearly the pagan to

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whose measure this famous head-piece was first forged must have had a very large head; but the worst of it is half of it is wanting."

When Sancho heard him call the basin a head-piece he was unable to restrain his laughter, but remembering his master's wrath he checked himself in the midst of it.

"What art thou laughing at, Sancho?" said Don Quixote.

"I am laughing," said he, "to think of the great head the pagan must have had who owned this helmet, for it looks exactly like a regular barber's basin."

"Dost thou know what I suspect, Sancho?" said Don Quixote; "that this wonderful piece of this enchanted helmet must by some strange accident have come into the hands of someone who was unable to recognize or realize its value, and who, not knowing what he did, and seeing it to be of the purest gold, must have melted down one half for the sake of what it might be worth, and of the other made this which is like a barber's basin as thou sayest; but be it as it may, to me who recognize it, its transformation makes no difference, for I will set it to rights at the first village where there is a blacksmith."

## CHAPTER 22

*[Farther down the highway Don Quixote meets a file of chained criminals on the way to the king's galleys. The tolerant guards permit the Don to question each prisoner, ending with Gines de Pasamonte, a famous thief. After hearing their stories, the knight urges the guards to let them go, "for God and nature have made them free." Naturally, he is refused. He suddenly overpowers one of the guards and the prisoners complete the job. But when Don Quixote asks them to go to Toboso and present themselves to Dulcinea, they turn on him with rocks and sticks and leave him and Sancho badly beaten.]*

## CHAPTER 23

SEEING himself served in this way, Don Quixote said to his squire, "I have always heard it said, Sancho, that to do good to boors is to throw water into the sea. If I had believed thy words, I should have avoided this trouble; but it is done now, it is only to have patience and take warning from this for the future."



"Your worship will take warning as much as I am a Turk," returned Sancho; "but, as you say this mischief might have been avoided if you had believed me. Believe me now, and a still greater one will be avoided; for I tell you chivalry is of no account with the Holy Brotherhood, and they don't care two maravedis for all the knights-errant in the world; and I can tell you I fancy I hear their arrows whistling past my ears this minute."

"Thou art a coward by nature, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "but lest thou shouldst say I am obstinate, and that I never do as thou dost advise, this once I will take thy advice, and withdraw out of reach of that fury thou so darest; but it must be on one condition, that never, in life or in death, thou art to say to anyone that I retired or withdrew from this danger out of fear, but only in compliance with thy entreaties; for if thou sayest otherwise thou wilt lie therein, and from this time to that, and from that to this, I give thee the lie, and say thou liest and wilt lie every time thou thinkest or sayest it; and answer me not again; for at the mere thought that I am withdrawing or retiring from any danger, above all from this, which does seem to carry some little shadow of fear with it, I am ready to take my stand here and wait alone."

"Señor," replied Sancho, "to retire is not to flee, and there is no wisdom in waiting when danger outweighs hope, and it is the part of wise men to preserve themselves today for tomorrow, and not risk all in one day; and let me tell you, though I am a clown and a boor, I have got some notion of what they call safe conduct: so repent not of having taken my advice, but mount Rocinante if you can, and if not I will help you; and follow me, for my mother-wit tells me we have more need of legs than hands just now."

Don Quixote mounted without replying, and, Sancho leading the way on his ass, they entered the side of the Sierra Morena, which was close by, as it was Sancho's design to cross it entirely and come out again at El Viso or Almodovar del Campo, and hide for some days among its crags so as to escape the search of the Brotherhood should they come to look for them. He was encouraged in this by perceiving that the stock of provisions carried by the ass had come safe out of the fray with the galley slaves, a circumstance that he regarded as a miracle, seeing how they pillaged and ransacked.

That night they reached the very heart of the Sierra Morena, where it seemed prudent to Sancho to pass the night and even some days, at least as many as the stores he carried might last, and so they en-

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camped between two rocks and among some cork trees; but fatal destiny, which, according to the opinion of those who have not the light of the true faith, directs, arranges, and settles everything in its own way, so ordered it that Gines de Pasamonte, the famous knave and thief who by the virtue and madness of Don Quixote had been released from the chain, driven by fear of the Holy Brotherhood, which he had good reason to dread, resolved to take hiding in the mountains; and his fate and fear led him to the same spot to which Don Quixote and Sancho Panza had been led by theirs, just in time to recognize them and leave them to fall asleep: and as the wicked are always ungrateful, and necessity leads to wrongdoing, and immediate advantage overcomes all considerations of the future, Gines, who was neither grateful nor well-principled, made up his mind to steal Sancho Panza's ass, not troubling himself about Rocinante, as being a prize that was no good either to pledge or sell. While Sancho slept he stole his ass, and before day dawned he was far out of reach.

Aurora made her appearance bringing gladness to the earth but sadness to Sancho Panza, for he found that his Dapple was missing, and seeing himself bereft of him he began the saddest and most doleful lament in the world, so loud that Don Quixote awoke at his exclamations and heard him saying, "O son of my bowels, born in my very house, my children's plaything, my wife's joy, the envy of my neighbors, relief of my burdens, and, lastly, half supporter of myself, for with the six-and-twenty maravedis thou didst earn me daily I met half my charges."

Don Quixote, when he heard the lament and learned the cause, consoled Sancho with the best arguments he could, entreating him to be patient, and promising to give him a letter of exchange ordering three out of five ass-colts that he had at home to be given to him. Sancho took comfort at this, dried his tears, suppressed his sobs, and returned thanks for the kindness shown him by Don Quixote.

## CHAPTER 24

*[Fearing that the Holy Brotherhood (rural police) will soon be after them for freeing the galley slaves, Sancho persuades his master that "to retire is not to flee," and they head into the fastnesses of the Sierra Morena mountains. In the path they find a weather-*

*rotted valise containing, among other things, love letters and money. Sancho grabs the coins; the knight is moved by the sentiment revealed in the notes. Later they meet a bearded young man, dressed in tatters—a broken-hearted lover named Cardenio. He has been living among the rocks, fed occasionally by kindly shepherds. He starts to tell Don Quixote how his fiancée, Luscinda, was stolen from him by his good friend Don Fernando; but a chance remark drives him into a violent frenzy. After belaboring Quixote he flees, leaving the knight burning with curiosity to hear the rest of the story.]*

## CHAPTER 25

SEÑOR,” asked Sancho, “is it a good rule of chivalry that we should go astray through these mountains without path or road, looking for a madman who when he is found will perhaps take a fancy to finish what he began, not his story, but your worship’s head and my ribs, and end by breaking them altogether for us?”

“Peace, I say again, Sancho,” said Don Quixote, “for let me tell thee it is not so much the desire of finding that madman that leads me into these regions as that which I have of performing among them an achievement wherewith I shall win eternal name and fame throughout the known world; and it shall be such that I shall thereby set the seal on all that can make a knight-errant perfect and famous.”

“And is it very perilous, this achievement?” asked Sancho.

“No,” replied he of the Rueful Countenance; “though it may be in the dice that we may throw deuce-ace instead of sixes; but all will depend on thy diligence.”

“On my diligence!” said Sancho.

“Yes,” said Don Quixote, “for if thou dost return soon from the place where I mean to send thee, my penance will be soon over, and my glory will soon begin. But as it is not right to keep thee any longer in suspense, waiting to see what comes of my words, I would have thee know, Sancho, that the famous Amadis of Gaul was one of the most perfect knights-errant—I am wrong to say he was one; he stood alone, the first, the only one, the lord of all that were in the world in his time. This, then, being so, I consider, friend Sancho, that the knight-errant who shall imitate him most closely will come nearest to

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reaching the perfection of chivalry. Now one of the instances in which this knight most conspicuously showed his prudence, worth, valor, patience, fortitude, and love, was when he withdrew, rejected by the Lady Oriana, to do penance upon the Peña Pobre, changing his name into that of Beltenebros, a name assuredly significant and appropriate to the life which he had voluntarily adopted. So, as it is easier for me to imitate him in this than in cleaving giants asunder, cutting off serpents' heads, slaying dragons, routing armies, destroying fleets, and breaking enchantments, and as this place is so well suited for a similar purpose, I must not allow the opportunity to escape which now so conveniently offers me its forelock."

"What is it in reality," said Sancho, "that your worship means to do in such an out-of-the-way place as this?"

"Have I not told thee," answered Don Quixote, "that I mean to imitate Amadis here, playing the victim of despair, the madman, the maniac?"

"It seems to me," said Sancho, "that the knights who behaved in this way had provocation and cause for those follies and penances; but what cause has your worship for going mad? What lady has rejected you, or what evidence have you found to prove that the lady Dulcinea del Toboso has been trifling with Moor or Christian?"

"There is the point," replied Don Quixote, "and that is the beauty of this business of mine; no thanks to a knight-errant for going mad when he has a cause; the thing is to turn crazy without any provocation, and to let my lady know, if I do this in the dry, what I would do in the moist, moreover I have abundant cause in the long separation I have endured from my lady till death, Dulcinea del Toboso; for as thou didst hear that shepherd Ambrosio say the other day, in absence all ills are felt and feared; and so, friend Sancho, waste no time in advising me against so rare, so happy, and so unheard-of an imitation; mad I am, and mad I must be until thou returnest with the answer to a letter that I mean to send by thee to my lady Dulcinea; and if it be such as my constancy deserves, my insanity and penance will come to an end; and if it be to the opposite effect, I shall become mad in earnest, and, being so, I shall suffer no more; thus in whatever way she may answer I shall escape from the struggle and affliction in which thou wilt leave me, enjoying in my senses the boon thou bearest me, or as a madman not feeling the evil thou bringest me. But tell me, Sancho, hast thou got Mambrino's helmet safe; for I saw thee take it up from the ground when that wretch tried to break it in pieces

but could not, by which the fineness of its temper may be seen?"

To which Sancho made answer, "By the living God, Sir Knight of the Rueful Countenance, I cannot endure or bear with patience some of the things that your worship says; and from them I begin to suspect that all you tell me about chivalry, and winning kingdoms and empires, and giving islands, and bestowing other rewards and dignities after the custom of knights-errant, must be all made up of wind and lies, and all pigments or figments, or whatever we may call them; for what would anyone think that heard your worship calling a barber's basin Mambrino's helmet without ever seeing the mistake all this time, but that one who says and maintains such things must have his brains addled? I have the basin in my sack all dinted, and I am taking it home to have it mended, to trim my beard in it, if, by God's grace, I am allowed to see my wife and children some day or other."

"Look here, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "by him thou didst swear by just now I swear thou hast the most limited understanding that any squire in the world has or ever had. Is it possible that all this time thou hast been going about with me thou hast never found out that all things belonging to knights-errant seem to be illusions and nonsense and ravings, and to go always by contraries? And not because it really is so, but because there is always a swarm of enchanters in attendance upon us that change and alter everything with us, and turn things as they please, and according as they are disposed to aid or destroy us; thus what seems to thee a barber's basin seems to me Mambrino's helmet, and to another it will seem something else; and rare foresight it was in the sage who is on my side to make what is really and truly Mambrino's helmet seem a basin to everybody, for, being held in such estimation as it is, all the world would pursue me to rob me of it; but when they see it is only a barber's basin they do not take the trouble to obtain it; as was plainly shown by him who tried to break it, and left it on the ground without taking it, for, by my faith, had he known it he would never have left it behind. Keep it safe, my friend, for just now I have no need of it; indeed, I shall have to take off all this armor and remain as naked as I was born, if I have a mind to follow Roland rather than Amadis in my penance."

Thus talking they reached the foot of a high mountain which stood like an isolated peak among the others that surrounded it. Past its base there flowed a gentle brook, all around it spread a meadow so green and luxuriant that it was a delight to the eyes to look upon it, and forest trees in abundance, and shrubs and flowers, added to the

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charms of the spot. Upon this place the Knight of the Rueful Countenance fixed his choice for the performance of his penance, and as he beheld it exclaimed in a loud voice as though he were out of his senses, "This is the place, oh, ye heavens, that I select and choose for bewailing the misfortune in which ye yourselves have plunged me. Oh, thou, my squire, pleasant companion in my prosperous and adverse fortunes, fix well in thy memory what thou shalt see me do here, so that thou mayest relate and report it to the sole cause of all."

Seeing this Sancho said, "Good luck to him who has saved us the trouble of stripping the pack-saddle off Dapple! By my faith he would not have gone without a slap on the croup and something said in his praise; though if he were here I would not let anyone strip him, for there would be no occasion, as he had nothing of the lover or victim of despair about him, inasmuch as his master, which I was while it was God's pleasure, was nothing of the sort; and indeed, Sir Knight of the Rueful Countenance, if my departure and your worship's madness are to come off in earnest, it will be as well to saddle Rocinante again in order that he may supply the want of Dapple, because it will save me time in going and returning; for if I go on foot I don't know when I shall get there or when I shall get back, as I am, in truth, a bad walker."

"I declare, Sancho," returned Don Quixote, "it shall be as thou wilt, for thy plan does not seem to me a bad one, and three days hence thou wilt depart, for I wish thee to observe in the meantime what I do and say for her sake, that thou mayest be able to tell it."

"Let me once get to El Toboso and into the presence of my lady Dulcinea, and I will tell her such things of the follies and madresses (for it is all one) that your worship has done and is still doing, that I will manage to make her softer than a glove though I find her harder than a cork tree; and with her sweet and honeyed answer I will come back through the air like a witch, and take your worship out of this purgatory."

"That is true," said he of the Rueful Countenance, "but how shall we manage to write the letter?"

"And the ass-colt order too," added Sancho.

"All shall be included," said Don Quixote; "and as there is no paper, it would be well done to write it on the leaves of trees, as the ancients did, or on tablets of wax; though that would be as hard to find just now as paper. But it has just occurred to me how it may be conveniently and even more than conveniently written, and that is in

the notebook that belonged to Cardenio, and thou wilt take care to have it copied on paper, in a good hand, at the first village thou comest to where there is a schoolmaster, or if not, any sacristan will copy it; but see thou give it not to any notary to copy, for they write a law hand that Satan could not make out."

"But what is to be done about the signature?" said Sancho.

"The letters of Amadis were never signed," said Don Quixote.

"That is all very well," said Sancho, "but the order must needs be signed, and if it is copied they will say the signature is false, and I shall be left without ass-colts."

"The order shall go signed in the same book," said Don Quixote, "and on seeing it my niece will make no difficulty about obeying it; as to the love-letter thou canst put by way of signature, '*Yours till death, the Knight of the Rueful Countenance.*' And it will be no great matter if it is in some other person's hand, for as well as I recollect Dulcinea can neither read nor write, nor in the whole course of her life has she seen handwriting or letter of mine, for my love and hers have been always platonic, not going beyond a modest look, and even that so seldom that I can safely swear I have not seen her four times in all these twelve years I have been loving her more than the light of these eyes that the earth will one day devour; and perhaps even of those four times she has not once perceived that I was looking at her: such is the retirement and seclusion in which her father Lorenzo Corchuelo and her mother Aldonza Nogales have brought her up."

"So, so!" said Sancho; "Lorenzo Corchuelo's daughter is the lady Dulcinea del Toboso, otherwise called Aldonza Lorenzo?"

"She it is," said Don Quixote, "and she it is that is worthy to be lady of the universe."

"I know her well," said Sancho, "and let me tell you she can fling a crowbar as well as the lustiest lad in all the town. Giver of all good! but she is a brave lass, and a right and stout one, and fit to be help-mate to any knight-errant that is or is to be, who may make her his lady. I can tell you one day she posted herself on the top of the belfry of the village to call some laborers of theirs that were in a plowed field of her father's, and though they were better than half a league off they heard her as well as if they were at the foot of the tower; and the best of her is that she is not a bit prudish, for she has plenty of affability, and jokes with everybody, and has a grin and a jest for everything. But I must own the truth to your worship, Señor Don Quixote; until now I have been under a great mistake, for I believed truly and

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honestly that the lady Dulcinea must be some princess your worship was in love with, or some person great enough to deserve the rich presents you have sent her, such as the Biscayan and the galley slaves, and many more no doubt, for your worship must have won many victories in the time when I was not yet your squire. But all things considered, what good can it do the lady Aldonza Lorenzo (I mean the lady Dulcinea del Toboso) to have the vanquished your worship sends or will send coming to her and going down on their knees before her? Because maybe when they came she'd be hackling flax or threshing on the threshing floor, and they'd be ashamed to see her, and she'd laugh, or resent the present."

"I have before now told thee many times, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "that thou art a mighty great chatterer, and that with a blunt wit thou art always striving at sharpness. For all I want with Dulcinea del Toboso she is just as good as the most exalted princess on earth. It is not to be supposed that all those poets who sang the praises of ladies under the fancy names they give them, had any such mistresses. Thinkest thou that the Amaryllises, the Phyllises, the Sylvias, the Dianas, the Galatcas, the Filidas, and all the rest of them, that the books, the ballads, the barbers' shops, the theaters are full of, were really and truly ladies of flesh and blood, and mistresses of those that glorify and have glorified them? Nothing of the kind; they only invent them for the most part to furnish a subject for their verses, and that they may pass for lovers, or for men who have some pretensions to be so; and so it is enough for me to think and believe that the good Aldonza Lorenzo is fair and virtuous; and as to her pedigree it is very little matter, for no one will examine into it for the purpose of conferring any order upon her, and I, for my part, reckon her the most exalted princess in the world."

Don Quixote took out the notebook, and, retiring to one side, very deliberately began to write the letter, and when he had finished it he called to Sancho, saying he wished to read it to him, so that he might commit it to memory, in case of losing it on the road; for with evil fortune like his anything might be apprehended. To which Sancho replied, "Write it two or three times there in the book and give it to me, and I will carry it very carefully, because to expect me to keep it in my memory is all nonsense, for I have such a bad one that I often forget my own name; but for all that repeat it to me, as I shall like to hear it, for surely it will run as if it was in print."

"Listen," said Don Quixote, "this is what it says:



## Miguel de Cervantes

### *Don Quixote's Letter to Dulcinea del Toboso.*

SOVEREIGN AND EXALTED LADY, The pierced by the point of absence, the wounded to the heart's core, sends thee, sweetest Dulcinea del Toboso, the health that he himself enjoys not. If thy beauty despises me, if thy worth is not for me, if thy scorn is my affliction, though I be sufficiently long-suffering, hardly shall I endure this anxiety, which, besides being oppressive, is protracted. My good Squire Sancho will relate to thee in full, fair ingrate, dear enemy, the condition to which I am reduced on thy account; if it be thy pleasure to give me relief, I am thine; if not, do as may be pleasing to thee; for by ending my life I shall satisfy thy cruelty and my desire.

Thine till death,

THE KNIGHT OF THE RUEFUL COUNTENANCE

"By the life of my father," said Sancho, when he heard the letter, "it is the loftiest thing I ever heard. Body of me! how your worship says everything as you like in it! And how well you fit in 'The Knight of the Rueful Countenance' into the signature. I declare your worship is indeed the very devil, and there is nothing you don't know."

"Everything is needed for the calling I follow," said Don Quixote.

"Now then," said Sancho, "let your worship put the order for the three ass-colts on the other side, and sign it very plainly, that they may recognize it at first sight."

"With all my heart," said Don Quixote, and as soon as he had written it he read it to this effect:

MISTRESS NIECE, By this first of ass-colts please pay to Sancho Panza, my squire, three of the five I left at home in your charge: said three ass-colts to be paid and delivered for the same number received here in hand, which upon this and upon his receipt shall be duly paid. Done in the heart of the Sierra Morena, the twenty-seventh of August of this present year.

"That will do," said Sancho; "now let your worship sign it."

"There is no need to sign it," said Don Quixote, "but merely to put my flourish, which is the same as a signature, and enough for three asses, or even three hundred."

"I can trust your worship," returned Sancho; "let me go and saddle Rocinante, and be ready to give me your blessing, for I mean to go at once without seeing the fooleries your worship is going to do; I'll say I saw you do so many that she will not want any more."

"At any rate, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "I should like—and there is reason for it—I should like thee, I say, to see me stripped to the skin and performing a dozen or two of insanities, which I can get done in less than half an hour; for having seen them with thine own eyes, thou canst then safely swear to the rest that thou wouldst add;

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and I promise thee thou wilt not tell of as many as I mean to perform."

"For the love of God, master mine," said Sancho, "let me not see your worship stripped, for it will sorely grieve me, and I shall not be able to keep from tears, and my head aches so with all I shed last night for Dapple that I am not fit to begin any fresh weeping. Do you know what I am afraid of?" said Sancho, "that I shall not be able to find my way back to this spot where I am leaving you, it is such an out-of-the-way place."

"Observe the landmarks well," said Don Quixote, "for I will try not to go far from this neighborhood, and I will even take care to mount the highest of these rocks to see if I can discover thee returning; however, not to miss me and lose thyself, the best plan will be to cut some branches of the broom that is so abundant about here, and as thou goest to lay them at intervals until thou hast come out upon the plain; these will serve thee, after the fashion of the clue in the labyrinth of Theseus, as marks and signs for finding me on thy return."

"So I will," said Sancho Panza, and having cut some, he asked his master's blessing, and not without many tears on both sides took his leave of him, and mounting Rocinante, of whom Don Quixote charged him earnestly to have as much care as of his own person, he set out for the plain, strewing at intervals the branches of broom as his master had recommended him; and so he went his way, though Don Quixote still entreated him to see him do were it only a couple of mad acts. He had not gone a hundred paces, however, when he returned and said, "I must say, señor, your worship said quite right, that in order to be able to swear without a weight on my conscience that I had seen you do mad things, it would be well for me to see if it were only one; though in your worship's remaining here I have seen a very great one."

"Did I not tell thee so?" said Don Quixote. "Wait, Sancho, and I will do them in the saying of a credo," and pulling off his breeches in all haste he stripped himself to his skin and his shirt, and then, without more ado, he cut a couple of gambados in the air, and a couple of somersaults, heels over head, making such a display that, not to see it a second time, Sancho wheeled Rocinante round, and felt easy, and satisfied in his mind that he could swear he had left his master mad; and so we will leave him to follow his road until his return, which was a quick one.

## CHAPTERS 26, 27, AND 28

*[Once out of the mountains, Sancho retraces his route to the inn, where he meets the curate and the barber, who have been trailing him and his master. They persuade Sancho to lead them to where the Don is doing penance. They don't tell the squire that they are trying to get the mad knight back home, for Sancho is so full of his own plans to become the governor of an island that he clearly would not cooperate if he knew that his opportunities were to be taken away. The curate and the barber borrow a woman's dress and an oxtail to use as a false beard from the innkeeper's wife, planning to masquerade as a damsel in distress and her squire. Once back in the mountains, the three meet Cardenio again. He now finishes his previously interrupted story and describes the supposed wedding of his friend Don Fernando to his beloved Luscinda. Cardenio has retired from the world to mourn his love and the lack of courage that kept him from forcibly breaking up the wedding, which, he is sure, was none of Luscinda's choosing. Cardenio accompanies the others towards the Don's retreat. On the way they surprise a beautiful girl dressed in men's clothing. It is Dorothea. The daughter of a wealthy farmer, she had been wooed and secretly won by Don Fernando. But before he kept his pledge to marry her, he had become infatuated with Luscinda and stolen off. Being a girl of spirit, she is out looking for her errant lover. The curate offers his help. This she accepts, and in return agrees to act the role of a princess in distress in order to persuade Don Quixote to leave his wanderings.]*

## CHAPTER, 29

**D**OROTHEA then took out of her pillow-case a complete petticoat of some rich stuff, and a green mantle of some other fine material, and a necklace and other ornaments out of a little box, and with these in an instant she so arrayed herself that she looked like a great and rich lady. All this, and more, she said, she had taken from home in case of need, but that until then she had had no occasion to make use

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of it. They were all highly delighted with her grace, air, and beauty, and declared Don Fernando to be a man of very little taste when he rejected such charms. But the one who admired her most was Sancho Panza, for it seemed to him (what indeed was true) that in all the days of his life he had never seen such a lovely creature; and he asked the curate with great eagerness who this beautiful lady was, and what she wanted in these out-of-the-way quarters.

"This fair lady, brother Sancho," replied the curate, "is no less a personage than the heiress in the direct male line of the great kingdom of Micomicon, who has come in search of your master to beg a boon of him, which is that he redress a wrong or injury that a wicked giant has done her; and from the fame as a good knight which your master has acquired far and wide, this princess has come from Guinea to seek him."

"A lucky seeking and a lucky finding!" said Sancho Panza at this; "especially if my master has the good fortune to redress that injury, and right that wrong, and kill that giant your worship speaks of; as kill him he will if he meets him, unless, indeed, he happens to be a phantom; for my master has no power at all against phantoms. But one thing among others I would beg of you, señor licentiate, which is, that, to prevent my master taking a fancy to be an archbishop, for that is what I'm afraid of, your worship would recommend him to marry this princess at once; for in this way he will be disabled from taking archbishop's orders, and will easily come into his empire, and I to the end of my desires; so that, señor, it all turns on my master marrying this lady at once—for as yet I do not know her grace, and so I cannot call her by her name."

"She is called the Princess Micomicona," said the curate; "for as her kingdom is Micomicon, it is clear that must be her name, and as for your master's marrying, I will do all in my power towards it"; with which Sancho was as much pleased as the curate was amazed at his simplicity and at seeing what a hold the absurdities of his master had taken of his fancy, for he had evidently persuaded himself that he was going to be an emperor.

By this time Dorothea had seated herself upon the curate's mule, and the barber had fitted the oxtail beard to his face, and they now told Sancho to conduct them to where Don Quixote was, warning him not to say that he knew either the licentiate or the barber, as his master's becoming an emperor entirely depended on his not recognizing them. Neither the curate nor Cardenio, however, thought fit to go with

them; Cardenio, lest he should remind Don Quixote of the quarrel he had with him, and the curate as there was no necessity for his presence just yet, so they allowed the others to go on before them, while they themselves followed slowly on foot. The curate did not forget to instruct Dorothea how to act, but she said they might make their minds easy, as everything would be done exactly as the books of chivalry required and described.

They had gone about three-quarters of a league when they discovered Don Quixote in a wilderness of rocks, by this time clothed, but without his armor; and as soon as Dorothea saw him and was told by Sancho that that was Don Quixote, she whipped her palfrey, the well-bearded barber following her, and on coming up to him her squire sprang from his mule and came forward to receive her in his arms, and she dismounting with great ease of manner advanced to kneel before the feet of Don Quixote; and though he strove to raise her up, she without rising addressed him in this fashion, "From this spot I will not rise, O valiant and doughty knight, until your goodness and courtesy grant me a boon."

"I will not answer a word, beauteous lady," replied Don Quixote, "nor will I listen to anything further concerning you, until you rise from the earth."

"I will not rise, señor," answered the afflicted damsel, "unless of your courtesy the boon I ask is first granted me."

"I grant and accord it," said Don Quixote, "provided without detriment or prejudice to my king, my country, or her who holds the key of my heart and freedom, it may be complied with."

"It will not be to the detriment or prejudice of any of them, my worthy lord," said the afflicted damsel; and here Sancho Panza drew close to his master's ear and said to him very softly, "Your worship may very safely grant the boon she asks; it's nothing at all; only to kill a big giant; and she who asks it is the exalted Princess Micomicona, queen of the great kingdom of Micomicon of Ethiopia."

"Let her be who she may," replied Don Quixote, "I will do what is my bounden duty, and what my conscience bids me, in conformity with what I have professed"; and turning to the damsel he said, "Let your great beauty rise, for I grant the boon which you would ask of me."

"Then what I ask," said the damsel, "is that your magnanimous person accompany me at once whither I will conduct you, and that you promise not to engage in any other adventure or quest until you

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have avenged me of a traitor who, against all human and divine law, has usurped my kingdom."

"I repeat that I grant it," replied Don Quixote; "and so, lady, you may from this day forth lay aside the melancholy that distresses you, and let your failing hopes gather new life and strength, for with the help of God and of my arm you will soon see yourself restored to your kingdom."

The barber was all this time on his knees at great pains to hide his laughter and not let his beard fall, for had it fallen maybe their fine scheme would have come to nothing; but now seeing the boon granted, and the promptitude with which Don Quixote prepared to set out in compliance with it, he rose and took his lady's hand, and between them they placed her upon the mule. Don Quixote then mounted Rocinante, and the barber settled himself on his beast, Sancho being left to go on foot, which made him feel anew the loss of his Dapple, finding the want of him now. But he bore all with cheerfulness, being persuaded that his master had now fairly started and was just on the point of becoming an emperor; for he felt no doubt at all that he would marry this princess, and be king of Micomicon at least. The only thing that troubled him was the reflection that this kingdom was in the land of the blacks, and that the people they would give him for vassals would all be black; but for this he soon found a remedy in his fancy, and said he to himself, "What is it to me if my vassals are blacks? What more have I to do than make a cargo of them and carry them to Spain, where I can sell them and get ready money for them, and with it buy some title or some office in which to live at ease all the days of my life?" And so he jogged on, so occupied with his thoughts and easy in his mind that he forgot all about the hardship of traveling on foot.

Cardenio and the curate were watching all this from among some bushes, not knowing how to join company with the others; but the curate, who was very fertile in devices, soon hit upon a way of effecting their purpose, and with a pair of scissors that he had in a case he quickly cut off Cardenio's beard, and putting on him a gray jerkin of his own he gave him a black cloak, leaving himself in his breeches and doublet, while Cardenio's appearance was so different from what it had been that he would not have known himself had he seen himself in a mirror. Having effected this, although the others had gone on ahead while they were disguising themselves, they easily came out on the high road before them, for the brambles and awkward places they

encountered did not allow those on horseback to go as fast as those on foot. They then posted themselves on the level ground at the outlet of the Sierra, and as soon as Don Quixote and his companions emerged from it the curate began to examine him very deliberately, as though he were striving to recognize him, and after having stared at him for some time he hastened towards him with open arms exclaiming, "A happy meeting with the mirror of chivalry, my worthy compatriot Don Quixote of La Mancha, the flower and cream of high breeding, the protection and relief of the distressed, the quintessence of knights-errant!" And so saying he clasped in his arms the knee of Don Quixote's left leg. He, astonished at the stranger's words and behavior, looked at him attentively, and at length recognized him, very much surprised to see him there, and made great efforts to dismount. This, however, the curate would not allow, on which Don Quixote said, "Permit me, señor licentiate, for it is not fitting that I should be on horseback and so reverend a person as your worship on foot."

"On no account will I allow it," said the curate; "your mightiness must remain on horseback, for it is on horseback you achieve the greatest deeds and adventures that have been beheld in our age."

"Nor even that will I consent to, señor licentiate," answered Don Quixote, "and I know it will be the good pleasure of my lady the princess, out of love for me, to order her squire to give up the saddle of his mule to your worship, and he can sit behind if the beast will bear it."

"It will, I am sure," said the princess, "and I am sure, too, that I need not order my squire, for he is too courteous and too good a Christian to allow a Churchman to go on foot when he might be mounted."

"That he is," said the barber, and at once alighting, he offered his saddle to the curate, who accepted it without much entreaty; but unfortunately as the barber was mounting behind, the mule, being as it happened a hired one, which is the same thing as saying ill-conditioned, lifted its hind hoofs and let fly a couple of kicks in the air, which would have made Master Nicholas wish his expedition in quest of Don Quixote at the devil had they caught him on the breast or head. As it was, they so took him by surprise that he came to the ground, giving so little heed to his beard that it fell off, and all he could do when he found himself without it was to cover his face hastily with both his hands and moan that his teeth were knocked out. Don Quixote when he saw all that bundle of beard detached, without jaws or

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blood, from the face of the fallen squire, exclaimed, "By the living God, but this is a great miracle! it has knocked off and plucked the beard from his face as if it had been shaved off designedly."

The curate, seeing the danger of discovery that threatened his scheme, at once pounced upon the beard and hastened with it to where Master Nicholas lay, still uttering moans, and drawing his head to his breast had it on in an instant, muttering over him some words which he said were a certain special charm for sticking on beards, as they would see; and as soon as he had it fixed he left him, and the squire appeared well bearded and whole as before, whereat Don Quixote was beyond measure astonished, and begged the curate to teach him that charm when he had an opportunity, as he was persuaded its virtue must extend beyond the sticking on of beards, for it was clear that where the beard had been stripped off the flesh must have remained torn and lacerated, and when it could heal all that it must be good for more than beards.

"And so it is," said the curate, and he promised to teach it to him on the first opportunity. They then agreed that for the present the curate should mount, and that the three should ride by turns until they reached the inn, which might be about six leagues from where they were.

Three then being mounted, that is to say, Don Quixote, the princess, and the curate, and three on foot, Cardenio, the barber, and Sancho Panza, Don Quixote said to the damsel, "Let your highness, lady, lead on whithersoever is most pleasing to you"; but before she could answer the licentiate said, "Towards what kingdom would your ladyship direct our course? Is it perchance towards that of Micomicon? It must be, or else I know little about kingdoms."

She, being ready on all points, understood that she was to answer "Yes," so she said, "Yes, señor, my way lies towards that kingdom."

"In that case," said the curate, "we must pass right through my village, and there your worship will take the road to Cartagena, where you will be able to embark, fortune favoring."

"It is not two years since I set out," said the damsel, "and though I never had good weather, nevertheless I am here to behold what I so longed for, and that is my Lord Don Quixote of La Mancha, whose fame came to my ears as soon as I set foot in Spain, and impelled me to go in search of him, to commend myself to his courtesy, and intrust the justice of my cause to the might of his invincible arm."

"Enough; no more praise," said Don Quixote at this, "for I hate all



flattery. I would ask the señor licentiate to tell me what it is that has brought him into these parts, alone, unattended, and so lightly clad that I am filled with amazement."

## CHAPTER 30

*[The curate explains, to Don Quixote's embarrassment, that most of his clothes were stolen by some galley slaves who had been freed by an unknown scoundrel. Then Dorothea, prompted by the curate, tells a tall story about a giant named Pandafilando who had deprived her father of the kingdom of Micomicon. She is willing to marry the knight who can kill the giant and restore her father to his throne. Sancho angrily chides Don Quixote for refusing the offer of marriage because of Dulcinea. Furious, the Don whacks Sancho. The others make peace between them, and Sancho forgets his bruises when the group chances on Gines de Pasamonte riding Sancho's donkey. Pasamonte flees and the squire is reunited with his beloved Dapple. At this point master and squire ride ahead so that the Don can inquire about Sancho's visit to Dulcinea. Since Sancho has not been near that fair lady, he has to invent lies out of whole cloth.]*

## CHAPTER 31

DON QUIXOTE asked: "Friend Panza, let us forgive and forget as to our quarrels, and tell me now, dismissing anger and irritation, where, how, and when didst thou find Dulcinea? What was she doing? What didst thou say to her? What did she answer? How did she look when she was reading my letter? Who copied it out for thee? and everything in the matter that seems to thee worth knowing, asking, and learning; neither adding nor falsifying to give me pleasure, nor yet curtailing lest you should deprive me of it."

"Señor," replied Sancho, "if the truth is to be told, nobody copied out the letter for me, for I carried no letter at all."

"It is as thou sayest," said Don Quixote, "for the note-book in which I wrote it I found in my own possession two days after thy departure, which gave me very great vexation, as I knew not what thou

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wouldst do on finding thyself without any letter; and I made sure thou wouldst return from the place where thou didst first miss it."

"So I should have done," said Sancho, "if I had not got it by heart when your worship read it to me, so that I repeated it to a sacristan, who copied it out for me from hearing it, so exactly that he said in all the days of his life, though he had read many a letter of excommunication, he had never seen or read so pretty a letter as that."

"All that is not unsatisfactory to me," said Don Quixote. "Go on; thou didst reach her; and what was that queen of beauty doing? Surely thou didst find her stringing pearls, or embroidering some device in gold thread for this her enslaved knight."

"I did not," said Sancho, "but I found her winnowing two bushels of wheat in the yard of her house."

"Then depend upon it," said Don Quixote, "the grains of that wheat were pearls when touched by her hands; and didst thou look, friend? Was it white wheat or brown?"

"It was neither, but red," said Sancho.

"Then I promise thee," said Don Quixote, "that, winnowed by her hands, beyond a doubt the bread it made was of the whitest; but go on; when thou gavest her my letter, did she kiss it? Did she place it on her head? Did she perform any ceremony befitting such a letter, or what did she do?"

"When I went to give it to her," replied Sancho, "she was hard at it swaying from side to side with a lot of wheat she had in the sieve, and she said to me, 'Lay the letter, friend, on the top of that sack, for I cannot read it until I have done sifting all this.'"

"Discreet lady!" said Don Quixote; "that was in order to read it at her leisure and enjoy it; proceed, Sancho; while she was engaged in her occupation what converse did she hold with thee? What did she ask about me, and what answer didst thou give? Make haste; tell me all, and let not an atom be left behind in the ink-bottle."

"She asked me nothing," said Sancho; "but I told her how your worship was left doing penance in her service, naked from the waist up, in among these mountains like a savage, sleeping on the ground, not eating bread off a tablecloth nor combing your beard, weeping and cursing your fortune."

"In saying I cursed my fortune thou saidst wrong," said Don Quixote; "for rather do I bless it and shall bless it all the days of my life for having made me worthy of aspiring to love so lofty a lady as Dulcinea del Toboso."

"And so lofty she is," said Sancho, "that she overtops me by more than a hand's-breadth."

"What! Sancho," said Don Quixote, "didst thou measure with her?"

"I measured in this way," said Sancho; "going to help her to put a sack of wheat on the back of an ass, we came so close together that I could see she stood more than a good palm over me."

"Well!" said Don Quixote, "and doth she not of a truth accompany and adorn this greatness with a thousand million charms of mind! But one thing thou wilt not deny, Sancho; when thou camest close to her didst thou not perceive a Sabæan odor, an aromatic fragrance, a, I know not what, delicious, that I cannot find a name for; I mean a redolence, an exhalation, as if thou wert in the shop of some dainty Glover?"

"All I can say is," said Sancho, "that I did perceive a little odor, something goaty; it must have been that she was all in a sweat with hard work."

"It could not be that," said Don Quixote, "but thou must have been suffering from cold in the head, or must have smelt thyself; for I know well what would be the scent of that rose among thorns, that lily of the field, that dissolved amber."

"Maybe so," replied Sancho; "there often comes from myself that same odor which then seemed to me to come from her grace the lady Dulcinea; but that's no wonder, for one devil is like another."

"Well then," continued Don Quixote, "now she has done sifting the corn and sent it to the mill; what did she do when she read the letter?"

"As for the letter," said Sancho, "she did not read it, for she said she could neither read nor write; instead of that she tore it up into small pieces, saying that she did not want to let anyone read it lest her secrets should become known in the village, and that what I had told her by word of mouth about the love your worship bore her, and the extraordinary penance you were doing for her sake, was enough; and, to make an end of it, she told me to tell your worship that she kissed your hands, and that she had a greater desire to see you than to write to you."

"So far all goes well," said Don Quixote; "but tell me what jewel was it that she gave thee on taking thy leave, in return for thy tidings of me? For it is a usual and ancient custom with knights and ladies errant to give the squires some rich jewel as a guerdon for good news."

"That is likely," said Sancho, "and a good custom it was, to my

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mind; but that must have been in days gone by, for now it would seem to be the custom only to give a piece of bread and cheese; because that was what my lady Dulcinea gave me over the top of the yard-wall when I took leave of her; and more by token it was sheep's-milk cheese."

"She is generous in the extreme," said Don Quixote, "and if she did not give thee a jewel of gold, no doubt it must have been because she had not one to hand there to give thee, but I shall see her and all shall be made right. But knowest thou what amazes me, Sancho? It seems to me thou must have gone and come through the air, for thou hast taken but little more than three days to go to El Toboso and return, though it is more than thirty leagues from here to there. From which I am inclined to think that the sage magician who is my friend, and watches over my interest, must have aided you without your knowing of it; so that, friend Sancho, I find no difficulty in believing that thou mayest have gone from this place to El Toboso and returned in such a short time, since, as I have said, some friendly sage must have carried thee through the air without thee perceiving it."

"That must have been it," said Sancho, "for indeed Rocinante went like a gypsy's ass with quicksilver in his ears."

"Quicksilver!" said Don Quixote, "ay, and what is more, a legion of devils, folk that can travel and make others travel without being weary, exactly as the whim seizes them. But putting this aside, what thinkest thou I ought to do about my lady's command to go and see her? For though I feel that I am bound to obey her mandate, I feel too that I am debarred by the boon I have accorded to the princess that accompanies us, and the law of chivalry compels me to have regard for my word in preference to my inclination; on the one hand the desire to see my lady pursues and harasses me, on the other my solemn promise and the glory I shall win in this enterprise urge and call me."

"Ah! what a sad state your worship's brains are in!" said Sancho. "Tell me, señor, do you mean to travel all that way for nothing, and to let slip and lose so rich and great a match as this where they give as a portion a kingdom that in sober truth I have heard say is more than twenty thousand leagues round about, and abounds with all things necessary to support human life, and is bigger than Portugal and Castile put together? Peace, for the love of God! Blush for what you have said, and take my advice, and forgive me, and marry at once in the first village where there is a curate; if not, here is our licentiate who will do the business beautifully; remember, I am old enough to

give advice, and this I am giving comes pat to the purpose; for a sparrow in the hand is better than a vulture on the wing."

"Look here, Sancho," said Don Quixote. "If thou art advising me to marry, in order that immediately on slaying the giant I may become king, and be able to confer favors on thee, and give thee what I have promised, let me tell thee I shall be able very easily to satisfy thy desires without marrying; for before going into battle I will make it a stipulation that, if I come out of it victorious, even if I do not marry, they shall give me a portion of the kingdom, that I may bestow it upon whomsoever I choose, and when they give it to me upon whom wouldst thou have me bestow it but upon thee?"

"That is plain speaking," said Sancho; "but let your worship take care to choose it on the sea-coast, so that if I don't like the life, I may be able to ship off my black vassals and deal with them as I have said; don't mind going to see my lady Dulcinea now, but go and kill this giant and let us finish off this business; for by God it strikes me it will be one of great honor and great profit."

"I hold thou art in the right of it, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "and I will take thy advice as to accompanying the princess before going to see Dulcinea; but I counsel thee not to say anything to anyone, or to those who are with us, about what we have considered and discussed, for as Dulcinea is so decorous that she does not wish her thoughts to be known it is not right that I or anyone for me should disclose them."

*[At this point a passing youth identifies himself to Don Quixote as Andres. The knight tells the company how he rescued the lad from a savage beating by his master, and how he forced the master to promise to pay the boy what he owed him—that was how knights redressed wrongs. But the boy has a different story to tell.]*

"Not only did he not pay me," said the lad, "but as soon as your worship had passed out of the wood and we were alone, he tied me up again to the same oak and gave me a fresh flogging, that left me like a flayed Saint Bartholomew; . . . for all of which your worship is to blame. For if you had gone your own way and not come where there was no call for you, nor meddled in other people's affairs, my master would have been content with giving me one or two dozen lashes, and would have then loosed me and paid me what he owed me. . . . If you ever meet me again, though you may see them cutting me to

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pieces, give me no aid or succor, but leave me to my misfortune, which will not be so great but that a greater will come to me by being helped by your worship. . . .”

Master Nicholas here called out to them to wait a while, as they wanted to halt and drink at a little spring there was there. Don Quixote drew up, not a little to the satisfaction of Sancho, for he was by this time weary of telling so many lies, and in dread of his master catching him tripping, for though he knew that Dulcinea was a peasant girl of El Toboso, he had never seen her in all his life. Cardenio had now put on the clothes which Dorothea was wearing when they found her, and though they were not very good, they were far better than those he put off. They dismounted together by the side of the spring, and with what the curate had provided himself with at the inn they appeased, though not very well, the keen appetite they all of them brought with them.

## CHAPTER 32

THEIR dainty repast being finished, they saddled at once, and without any adventure worth mentioning they reached next day the inn, the object of Sancho Panza's fear and dread; but though he would have rather not entered it there was no help for it. The landlady, the landlord, their daughter, and Maritornes, when they saw Don Quixote and Sancho coming, went out to welcome them with signs of hearty satisfaction, which Don Quixote received with dignity and gravity, and bade them make up a better bed for him than the last time: to which the landlady replied that if he paid better than he did the last time she would give him one fit for a prince. Don Quixote said he would, so they made up a tolerable one for him in the same garret as before; and he lay down at once, being sorely shaken and in want of sleep.

While at dinner, the company consisting of the landlord, his wife, their daughter, Maritornes, and all the travelers, they discussed the strange craze of Don Quixote and the manner in which he had been found. But on the curate observing that it was the books of chivalry which Don Quixote had read that had turned his brain, the landlord

said, "I cannot understand how that can be, for in truth to my mind there is no better reading in the world, and I have here two or three of them, with other writings that are the very life, not only of myself but of plenty more; for when it is harvest-time the reapers flock here on holidays, and there is always one among them who can read and who takes up one of these books, and we gather round him, thirty or more of us, and stay listening to him with a delight that makes our gray hairs grow young again. At least I can say for myself that when I hear of what furious and terrible blows the knights deliver, I am seized with the longing to do the same, and I would like to be hearing about them night and day."

"And I just as much," said the landlady, "because I never have a quiet moment in my house except when you are listening to someone reading; for then you are so taken up that for the time being you forget to scold."

"That is true," said Maritornes; "and, faith, I relish hearing these things greatly too, for they are very pretty; especially when they describe some lady or another in the arms of her knight under the orange trees, and the duenna who is keeping watch for them half dead with envy and fright; all this I say is as good as honey."

"And you, what do you think, young lady?" said the curate turning to the landlord's daughter.

"I don't know indeed, señor," said she; "I listen too, and to tell the truth, though I do not understand it, I like hearing it; but it is not the blows that my father likes that I like, but the laments the knights utter when they are separated from their ladies; and indeed they sometimes make me weep with the compassion I feel for them."

"Then you would console them if it was for you they wept, young lady?" said Dorothea.

"I don't know what I should do," said the girl; "I only know that there are some of those ladies so cruel that they call their knights tigers and lions and a thousand other foul names: and, Jesus! I don't know what sort of folk they can be, so unfeeling and heartless, that rather than bestow a glance upon a worthy man they leave him to die or go mad. I don't know what is the good of such prudery; if it is for honor's sake, why not marry them? That's all they want."

"Hush, child," said the landlady; "it seems to me thou knowest a great deal about these things, and it is not fit for girls to know or talk so much."

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"As the gentleman asked me, I could not help answering him," said the girl.

"Well then," said the curate, "bring me these books, señor landlord, for I should like to see them."

"With all my heart," said he, and going into his own room he brought out an old valise secured with a little chain, on opening which the curate found in it three large books and some manuscripts written in a very good hand. The first that he opened he found to be "Don Cirongilio of Thrace," and the second "Don Felixmarte of Hircania," and the other the "History of the Great Captain Gonzalo Hernandez de Cordova, with the Life of Diego Garcia de Paredes."

"Brother," said the curate, "two of those books are made up of lies, and are full of folly and nonsense; but this of the Great Captain is a true history, and contains the deeds of Gonzalo Hernandez of Cordova, who by his many and great achievements earned the title all over the world of the Great Captain, a famous and illustrious name, and deserved by him alone; and this Diego Garcia de Paredes was a distinguished knight of the city of Trujillo in Estremadura, a most gallant soldier, and of such bodily strength that with one finger he stopped a mill-wheel in full motion; and posted with a two-handed sword at the foot of a bridge he kept the whole of an immense army from passing over it, and achieved such other exploits that if, instead of his relating them himself with the modesty of a knight and of one writing his own history, some free and unbiased writer had recorded them, they would have thrown into the shade all the deeds of the Hectors, Achilleses, and Rolands.

"Tell that to my father," said the landlord. "There's a thing to be astonished at! Stopping a mill-wheel! By God your worship should read what I have read of Felixmarte of Hircania, how with one single backstroke he cleft five giants asunder through the middle as if they had been made of bean-pods like the little friars the children make; and another time he attacked a very great and powerful army, in which there were more than a million six hundred thousand soldiers, all armed from head to foot, and he routed them all as if they had been flocks of sheep. Hold your peace, señor; for if you were to hear this you would go mad with delight. A couple of figs for your Great Captain and your Diego Garcia!"

Hearing this Dorothea said in a whisper to Cardenio, "Our landlord is almost fit to play a second part to Don Quixote."



"I think so," said Cardenio, "for as he shows, he accepts it as a certainty that everything those books relate took place exactly as it is written down; and the barefooted friars themselves would not persuade him to the contrary."

"But consider, brother," said the curate once more, "there never was any Felixmarte of Hircania in the world, nor any Cirongilio of Thrace, or any of the other knights of the same sort, that the books of chivalry talk of; the whole thing is the fabrication and invention of idle wits, devised by them for the purpose you describe of beguiling the time, as your reapers do when they read: for I swear to you in all seriousness there never were any such knights in the world, and no such exploits or nonsense ever happened anywhere."

"Try that bone on another dog," said the landlord; "as if I did not know how many make five, and where my shoe pinches me; don't think to feed me with pap, for by God I am no fool. It is a good joke for your worship to try and persuade me that everything these good books say is nonsense and lies, and they printed by the license of the Lords of the Royal Council, as if they were people who would allow such a lot of lies to be printed all together, and so many battles and enchantments that they take away one's senses."

"I have told you, friend," said the curate, "that this is done to divert our idle thoughts; and as in well-ordered states games of chess, fives, and billiards are allowed for the diversion of those who do not care, or are not obliged, or are unable to work, so books of this kind are allowed to be printed, on the supposition that, what indeed is the truth, there can be nobody so ignorant as to take any of them for true stories; and God grant you may not fall lame of the same foot your guest Don Quixote halts on."

"No fear of that," returned the landlord; "I shall not be so mad as to make a knight-errant of myself; for I see well enough that things are not now as they used to be in those days, when they say those famous knights roamed about the world."

Sancho had made his appearance in the middle of this conversation, and he was very much troubled and cast down by what he heard said about knights-errant being now no longer in vogue, and all books of chivalry being folly and lies; and he resolved in his heart to wait and see what came of this journey of his master's, and if it did not turn out as happily as his master expected, he determined to leave him and go back to his wife and children and his ordinary labor.

## CHAPTERS 33 AND 34

*[Here, a story called "The Ill-advised Curiosity" details at great length the complications which arise when a young husband uses his best friend to test his wife's faithfulness. This story and its characters are entirely separate from the story of Don Quixote.]*

## CHAPTER 35

SANCHO Panza burst forth in wild excitement from the garret where Don Quixote was lying, shouting, "Run, sirs! quick; and help my master, who is in the thick of the toughest and stiffest battle I ever laid eyes on. By the living God he has given the giant, the enemy of my lady the Princess Micomicona, such a slash that he has sliced his head clean off as if it were a turnip."

"What are you talking about, brother?" said the curate, pausing as he was about to read the remainder of the novel. "Are you in your senses, Sancho? How the devil can it be as you say, when the giant is two thousand leagues away?"

Here they heard a loud noise in the chamber, and Don Quixote shouting out, "Stand, thief, brigand, villain; now I have got thee and thy scimitar shall not avail thee!" And then it seemed as though he were slashing vigorously at the wall.

"Don't stop to listen," said Sancho, "but go in and part them or help my master: though there is no need of that now, for no doubt the giant is dead by this time and giving account to God of his past wicked life; for I saw the blood flowing on the ground, and the head cut off and fallen on one side, and it is as big as a large wine-skin."

"May I die," said the landlord at this, "if Don Quixote or Don Devil has not been slashing some of the skins of red wine that stand full at his bed's head, and the spilt wine must be what this good fellow takes for blood"; and so saying he went into the room and the rest after him, and there they found Don Quixote in the strangest costume in the world. He was in his shirt, which was not long enough in front to cover his thighs completely and was six fingers shorter behind; his legs were very long and lean, covered with hair, and anything but

clean; on his head he had a little greasy red cap that belonged to the host, round his left arm he had rolled the blanket of the bed, and in his right hand he held his unsheathed sword, with which he was slashing about on all sides, uttering exclamations as if he were actually fighting some giant: and the best of it was his eyes were not open, for he was fast asleep, and dreaming that he was doing battle with the giant. For his imagination was so wrought upon by the adventure he was going to accomplish, that it made him dream he had already reached the kingdom of Micomicon, and was engaged in combat with his enemy; and believing he was laying on to the giant, he had given so many sword cuts to the skins that the whole room was full of wine. On seeing this the landlord was so enraged that he fell on Don Quixote, and with his clinched fist began to pummel him in such a way that if Cardenio and the curate had not dragged him off, he would have brought the war of the giant to an end. But in spite of all, the poor gentleman never woke until the barber brought a great pot of cold water from the well and flung it with one dash all over his body, on which Don Quixote woke up, but not so completely as to understand what was the matter. Dorothea, seeing how short and slight his attire was, would not go in to witness the battle between her champion and her opponent. As for Sancho, he went searching all over the floor for the head of the giant, and not finding it he said, "I see now that it's all enchantment in this house; for the last time, on this very spot where I am now, I got ever so many thumps and thwacks without knowing who gave them to me, or being able to see anybody; and now this head is not to be seen anywhere about, though I saw it cut off with my own eyes and the blood running from the body as if from a fountain."

"What blood and fountains are you talking about, enemy of God and his saints?" said the landlord. "Don't you see, you thief, that the blood and the fountain are only these skins here that have been stabbed and the red wine swimming all over the room?—and I wish I saw the soul of him that stabbed them swimming in hell."

At length the barber, Cardenio, and the curate contrived with no small trouble to get Don Quixote on the bed, and he fell asleep with every appearance of excessive weariness. They left him to sleep, and came out to the gate of the inn to console Sancho Panza on not having found the head of the giant; but much more work had they to appease the landlord, who was furious at the sudden death of his wine-skins.

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The curate smoothed matters by promising to make good all losses to the best of his power, not only as regarded the wine-skins but also the wine. Dorothea comforted Sancho, telling him that she pledged herself, as soon as it should appear certain that his master had decapitated the giant, and she found herself peacefully established in her kingdom, to bestow upon him the best county there was in it.

All therefore being appeased, the curate was anxious to get on with the novel, as he saw there was but little more left to read. Dorothea and the others begged him to finish it, and he, as he was willing to please them, and enjoyed reading it himself, continued the tale.

### CHAPTER 36

*[Just as the curate finishes this tragic tale, a party of masked gentlefolk ride up to the inn. The leader is Don Fernando, whom Dorothea is seeking; with him is the beautiful Luscinda, kidnapped. Dorothea soon discovers the identity of her errant lover. With the curate's aid and her own quick wits she sets out to persuade Don Fernando to return Luscinda to Cardenio. After much talk, tears, and confessions, the right men and the right women are paired off, and Don Fernando and Cardenio are reconciled.]*

### CHAPTER 37

TO ALL THIS Sancho listened with no little sorrow at heart to see how his hopes of dignity were fading away and vanishing in smoke, and how the fair Princess Micomicona had turned into Dorothea, and the giant into Don Fernando, while his master was sleeping tranquilly, totally unconscious of all that had come to pass. Dorothea was unable to persuade herself that her present happiness was not all a dream; Cardenio was in a similar state of mind, and Luscinda's thoughts ran in the same direction. Don Fernando gave thanks to Heaven for the favor shown to him and for having been rescued from the intricate labyrinth in which he had been brought so near the destruction of his good name and of his soul; and in short everybody in the inn was full of contentment and satisfaction at the happy issue of such a complicated and hopeless business. The curate as a sensible man made sound

reflections upon the whole affair, and congratulated each upon his good fortune; but the one that was in the highest spirits and good humor was the landlady, because of the promise Cardenio and the curate had given her to pay for all the losses and damage she had sustained through Don Quixote's means. Sancho, as has been already said, was the only one who was distressed, unhappy, and dejected; and so with a long face he went in to his master, who had just awoke, and said to him, "Sir Rueful Countenance, your worship may as well sleep on as much as you like, without troubling yourself about killing any giant or restoring her kingdom to the princess; for that is all over and settled now."

"I should think it was," replied Don Quixote, "for I have had the most prodigious and stupendous battle with the giant that I ever remember having had all the days of my life; and with one backstroke—swish!—I brought his head tumbling to the ground, and so much blood gushed forth from him that it ran in rivulets over the earth like water."

"Like red wine, your worship had better say," replied Sancho; "for I would have you know, if you don't know it, that the dead giant is a hacked wine-skin, and the blood four-and-twenty gallons of red wine that it had in its belly, and the devil take it all."

"What art thou talking about, fool?" said Don Quixote; "art thou in thy senses?"

"Let your worship get up," said Sancho, "and you will see the nice business you have made of it, and what we have to pay; and you will see the queen turned into a private lady called Dorothea, and other things that will astonish you, if you understand them."

"I shall not be surprised at anything of the kind," returned Don Quixote; "for if thou dost remember the last time we were here I told thee that everything that happened here was a matter of enchantment, and it would be no wonder if it were the same now."

"I could believe all that," replied Sancho, "if my blanketing was the same sort of thing also; only it wasn't, but real and genuine; for I saw the landlord, who is here to-day, holding one end of the blanket and jerking me up to the skies very neatly and smartly, and with as much laughter as strength; and when it comes to be a case of knowing people, I hold for my part, simple and sinner as I am, that there is no enchantment about it at all, but a great deal of bruising and plenty of bad luck."

"Well, well, God will give a remedy," said Don Quixote; "hand me

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my clothes and let me go out, for I want to see these transformations and things thou speakest of."

Sancho fetched him his clothes; and while he was dressing, the curate gave Don Fernando and the others present an account of Don Quixote's madness and of the stratagem they had made use of to withdraw him from that Peña Pobre where he fancied himself stationed because of his lady's scorn. He described to them also nearly all the adventures that Sancho had mentioned, at which they marveled and laughed not a little, thinking it, as all did, the strangest form of madness a crazy intellect could be capable of. But now, the curate said, that the lady Dorothea's good fortune prevented her from proceeding with their purpose, it would be necessary to devise or discover some other way of getting him home.

Cardenio proposed to carry out the scheme they had begun, and suggested that Luscinda would act and support Dorothea's part sufficiently well.

"No," said Don Fernando, "that must not be, for I want Dorothea to follow out this idea of hers; and if the worthy gentleman's village is not very far off, I shall be happy if I can do anything for his relief."

"It is not more than two days' journey from this," said the curate.

"Even if it were more," said Don Fernando, "I would gladly travel so far for the sake of doing so good a work."

At this moment Don Quixote came out in full panoply, with Mambrino's helmet, all dented as it was, on his head, his buckler on his arm, and leaning on his staff or pike. The strange figure he presented filled Don Fernando and the rest with amazement as they contemplated his lean yellow face half a league long, his armor of all sorts, and the solemnity of his deportment. They stood silent waiting to see what he would say, and he, fixing his eyes on the fair Dorothea, addressed her with great gravity and composure:

"I am informed, fair lady, by my squire here that your greatness has been annihilated and your being abolished, since, from a queen and lady of high degree as you used to be, you have been turned into a private maiden. If this has been done by the command of the magician king your father, through fear that I should not afford you the aid you need and are entitled to, I may tell you he was little versed in the annals of chivalry; for, if he had read and gone through them as attentively and deliberately as I have, he would have found at every turn that knights of less renown than mine, have accomplished things more difficult. I say in conclusion, high and disinherited lady, that if

your father has brought about this metamorphosis in your person for the reason I have mentioned, you ought not to attach any importance to it; for there is no peril on earth through which my sword will not force a way, and with it, before many days are over, I will bring your enemy's head to the ground and place on yours the crown of your kingdom."

Don Quixote said no more, and waited for the reply of the princess, who, aware of Don Fernando's determination to carry on the deception until Don Quixote had been conveyed to his home, with great ease of manner and gravity made answer, "Whoever told you, valiant Knight of the Rueful Countenance, that I had undergone any change or transformation did not tell you the truth, for I am the same as I was yesterday. It is true that certain strokes of good fortune, that have given me more than I could have hoped for, have made some alteration in me; but I have not therefore ceased to be what I was before, or to entertain the same desire I have had all through of availing myself of the might of your valiant and invincible arm. And so, señor, let your goodness reinstate the father that begot me in your good opinion, and be assured that he was a wise and prudent man, since by his craft he found out such a sure and easy way of remedying my misfortune; for I believe, señor, that had it not been for you I should never have lit upon the good fortune I now possess; and in this I am saying what is perfectly true; as most of these gentlemen who are present can fully testify. All that remains is to set out on our journey to-morrow, for to-day we could not make much way; and for the rest of the happy result I am looking forward to, I trust to God and the valor of your heart."

So said the sprightly Dorothea, and on hearing her Don Quixote turned to Sancho, and said to him, with an angry air, "I declare now, little Sancho, thou art the greatest little villain in Spain. Say, thief and vagabond, hast thou not just now told me that this princess had been turned into a maiden called Dorothea, and other nonsense that put me in the greatest perplexity I have ever been in all my life? I vow" (and here he looked to heaven and ground his teeth) "I have a mind to play the mischief with thee, in a way that will teach sense for the future to all lying squires of knights-errant in the world."

"Let your worship be calm, señor," returned Sancho, "for it may well be that I have been mistaken as to the change of the lady Princess Micomicona; but as to the giant's head, or at least as to the piercing of the wine-skins, and the blood being red wine, I make no mistake,

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as sure as there is a God; because the wounded skins are there at the head of your worship's bed, and the red wine has made a lake of the room; if not you will see when the eggs come to be fried; I mean when his worship the landlord here calls for all the damages: for the rest, I am heartily glad that her ladyship the queen is as she was, for it concerns me as much as anyone."

"I tell thee again, Sancho, thou art a fool," said Don Quixote; "forgive me, but that will do."

"That will do," said Don Fernando; "let us say no more about it; and as her ladyship the princess proposes to set out to-morrow because it is too late to-day, so be it, and we will pass the night in pleasant conversation, and to-morrow we will all accompany Señor Don Quixote; for we wish to witness the valiant and unparalleled achievements he is about to perform in the course of this mighty enterprise which he has undertaken."

"It is I who shall wait upon and accompany you," said Don Quixote; "and I am much gratified by the favor that is bestowed upon me, and the good opinion entertained of me, which I shall strive to justify or it shall cost me my life, or even more, if it can possibly cost me more."

Many were the compliments and expressions of politeness that passed between Don Quixote and Don Fernando; but they were brought to an end by a traveler who at this moment entered the inn, and who seemed from his attire to be a Christian lately come from the country of the Moors, for he was dressed in a short-skirted coat of blue cloth with half-sleeves and without a collar; his breeches were also of blue cloth, and his cap of the same color, and he wore yellow buskins and had a Moorish cutlass slung from a baldric across his breast. Behind him, mounted upon an ass, there came a woman dressed in Moorish fashion, with her face veiled and a scarf on her head, and wearing a little brocaded cap, and a mantle that covered her from her shoulders to her feet.

## CHAPTERS 38, 39, 40, 41 AND 42

*[The traveler and his beautiful Moorish lady, Zoraida, are welcomed. After supper the traveler tells his exciting life story. (Many details are drawn from Cervantes' own years as a prisoner in Algiers.) As the story is completed, another coach arrives at the*



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*already bulging inn. The occupants are a distinguished judge and his lovely daughter, Doña Clara. The judge, who is on his way to take ship for South America, discovers that the traveler is his brother, and a touching reunion takes place. Finally all retire except Don Quixote, who insists on mounting guard over the treasures of beauty now housed in the "castle."]*

### CHAPTER 43

DEEP SILENCE reigned all through the inn. The only persons not asleep were the landlady's daughter and her servant Maritornes, who, knowing the weak point of Don Quixote's humor, and that he was outside the inn mounting guard in armor and on horseback, resolved, the pair of them, to play some trick upon him, or at any rate to amuse themselves for a while by listening to his nonsense. As it so happened there was not a window in the whole inn that looked outwards except a hole in the wall of a straw-loft through which they used to throw out the straw. At this hole the two demi-damsels posted themselves, and observed Don Quixote on his horse, leaning on his pike and from time to time sending forth such deep and doleful sighs that he seemed to pluck up his soul by the roots with each of them; and they could hear him, too, saying in a soft, tender, loving tone, "Oh my lady Dulcinea del Toboso, perfection of all beauty, summit and crown of discretion, treasure house of grace, depository of virtue, and, finally, ideal of all that is good, honorable, and delectable in this world! What is thy grace doing now?"

Don Quixote had got so far in his pathetic speech when the landlady's daughter began to signal to him, saying, "Señor, come over here, please."

At these signals and voice Don Quixote turned his head and saw by the light of the moon, which then was in its full splendor, that someone was calling to him from the hole in the wall, which seemed to him to be a window, and what is more, with a gilt grating, as rich castles, such as he believed the inn to be, ought to have; and it immediately suggested itself to his imagination that, as on the former occasion, the fair damsel, the daughter of the lady of the castle, overcome by love for him, was endeavoring to win his affections; and with this idea, not to show himself discourteous, or ungrateful, he turned

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Rocinante's head and approached the hole, and as he perceived the two wenches he said, "I pity you, beauteous lady, that you should have directed your thoughts of love to a quarter from whence it is impossible that such a return can be made to you as is due to your great merit and gentle birth, for which you must not blame this unhappy knight-errant whom love renders incapable of submission to any other than her whom, the first moment his eyes beheld her, he made absolute mistress of his soul. Forgive me, noble lady, and retire to your apartment, and do not, by any further declaration of your passion, compel me to show myself more ungrateful; and if, of the love you bear me, you should find that there is anything else in my power wherein I can gratify you, provided it be not love itself, demand it of me; for I swear to you by that sweet absent enemy of mine to grant it this instant, though it be that you require of me a lock of Medusa's hair, which was all snakes, or even the very beams of the sun shut up in a vial."

"My mistress wants nothing of that sort, sir knight," said Maritornes at this.

"What then, discreet dame, is it that your mistress wants?" replied Don Quixote.

"Only one of your fair hands," said Maritornes, "to enable her to vent over it the great passion which has brought her to this loophole, so much to the risk of her honor; for if the lord her father had heard her, the least slice he would cut off her would be her ear."

"I should like to see that tried," said Don Quixote; "but he had better beware of that, if he does not want to meet the most disastrous end that ever father in the world met for having laid hands on the tender limbs of a love-stricken daughter."

Maritornes felt sure that Don Quixote would present the hand she had asked, and making up her mind what to do, she got down from the hole and went into the stable, where she took the halter of Sancho Panza's ass, and in all haste returned to the hole, just as Don Quixote had planted himself standing on Rocinante's saddle in order to reach the grated window where he supposed the love-lorn damsel to be; and giving her his hand, he said, "Lady, take this hand, or rather this scourge of the evil-doers of the earth; take, I say, this hand which no other hand of woman has ever touched, not even hers who has complete possession of my entire body. I present it to you, not that you may kiss it, but that you may observe the contexture of the sinews, the close network of the muscles, the breadth and capacity of the

veins, whence you may infer what must be the strength of the arm that has such a hand."

"That we shall see presently," said Maritornes, and making a running knot on the halter, she passed it over his wrist and coming down from the hole tied the other end very firmly to the bolt of the door of the straw-loft.

Don Quixote, feeling the roughness of the rope on his wrist, exclaimed, "Your grace seems to be grating rather than caressing my hand; treat it not so harshly, for it is not to blame for the offense my resolution has given you, nor is it just to wreak all your vengeance on so small a part; remember that one who loves so well should not revenge herself so cruelly."

But there was nobody now to listen to these words of Don Quixote's, for as soon as Maritornes had tied him she and the other made off, ready to die with laughing, leaving him fastened in such a way that it was impossible for him to release himself.

He was, as has been said, standing on Rocinante, with his arm passed through the hole and his wrist tied to the bolt of the door, and in mighty fear and dread of being left hanging by the arm if Rocinante were to stir one side or the other; so he did not dare to make the least movement, although from the patience and imperturbable disposition of Rocinante, he had good reason to expect that he would stand without budging for a whole century. Finding himself fast, then, and that the ladies had retired, he began to fancy that all this was done by enchantment, as on the former occasion when in that same castle that enchanted Moor of a carrier had belabored him; and he cursed in his heart his own want of sense and judgment in venturing to enter the castle again, after having come off so badly the first time; it being a settled point with knights-errant that when they have tried an adventure, and have not succeeded in it, it is a sign that it is not reserved for them but for others, and that therefore they need not try it again. Nevertheless he pulled his arm to see if he could release himself, but it had been made so fast that all his efforts were in vain. It is true he pulled it gently lest Rocinante should move, but try as he might to seat himself in the saddle he had nothing for it but to stand upright or pull his hand off. Then it was he wished for the sword of Amadis, against which no enchantment whatever had any power; then he cursed his ill fortune; then he magnified the loss the world would sustain by his absence while he remained there enchanted, for that he believed he was beyond all doubt; then he once more took to thinking

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of his beloved Dulcinea del Toboso; then he called to his worthy squire Sancho Panza, who, buried in sleep and stretched upon the pack-saddle of his ass, was oblivious, at that moment, of the mother that bore him; then he called upon the sages Lirgandeo and Alquife to come to his aid; then he invoked his good friend Urganda to succor him; and then, at last, morning found him in such a state of desperation and perplexity that he was bellowing like a bull, for he had no hope that day would bring any relief to his suffering, which he believed would last forever, inasmuch as he was enchanted; and of this he was convinced by seeing that Rocinante never stirred, much or little, and he felt persuaded that he and his horse were to remain in this state, without eating or drinking or sleeping, until the malign influence of the stars was overpast, or until some other more sage enchanter should disenchant him.

But he was very much deceived in this conclusion, for daylight had hardly begun to appear when there came up to the inn four men on horseback, well equipped and accoutered, with firelocks across their saddle-bows. They called out and knocked loudly at the gate of the inn, which was still shut; on seeing which, Don Quixote, even there where he was, did not forget to act as sentinel, and said in a loud and imperious tone, "Knights, or squires, or whatever ye be, ye have no right to knock at the gates of this castle; for it is plain enough that they who are within are either asleep, or else are not in the habit of throwing open the fortress until the sun's rays are spread over the whole surface of the earth. Withdraw to a distance, and wait till it is broad daylight, and then we shall see whether it will be proper or not to open to you."

"What the devil fortress or castle is this," said one, "to make us stand on such ceremony? If you are the innkeeper bid them open to us; we are travelers who only want to feed our horses and go on, for we are in haste."

"Do you think, gentlemen, that I look like an innkeeper?" said Don Quixote.

"I don't know what you look like," replied the other; "but I know that you are talking nonsense when you call this inn a castle."

But the comrades of the spokesman growing weary of the dialogue with Don Quixote, renewed their knocks with great vehemence, so much so that the host, and not only he but everybody in the inn, awoke, and he got up to ask who knocked. It happened at this moment that one of the horses of the four who were seeking admittance went to

smell Rocinante, who melancholy, dejected, and with drooping ears, stood motionless, supporting his sorely stretched master; and as he was, after all, flesh, though he looked as if he were made of wood, he could not help giving way and in return smelling the one who had come to offer him attentions. But he had hardly moved at all when Don Quixote lost his footing; and slipping off the saddle, he would have come to the ground, but for being suspended by the arm, which caused him such agony that he believed either his wrist would be cut through or his arm torn off.

So loud, in fact, were the shouts of Don Quixote, that the landlord opening the gate of the inn in all haste, came out in dismay, and ran to see who was uttering such cries, and those who were outside joined him. Maritornes, who had been by this time roused up by the same outcry, suspecting what it was, ran to the loft and, without any one seeing her, untied the halter by which Don Quixote was suspended, and down he came to the ground in the sight of the landlord and the travelers, who approaching asked him what was the matter with him that he shouted so. He without replying a word took the rope off his wrist, and rising to his feet leaped upon Rocinante, braced his buckler on his arm, put his lance in rest, and making a considerable circuit of the plain came back at a half gallop exclaiming, "Whoever shall say that I have been enchanted with just case, provided my lady the Princess Micomicona grants me permission to do so, I give him the lie, challenge him and defy him to single combat."

The newly arrived travelers were amazed at the words of Don Quixote; but the landlord removed their surprise by telling them who he was, and not to mind him as he was out of his senses.

## CHAPTER 44

*[The men are retainers looking for a young gentleman who in the guise of a muleteer has been following his sweetheart, the judge's daughter. A great debate ensues because Don Luis does not want to leave Doña Clara and go home.]*

THE SERVANTS of Don Luis were waiting for the end of the conversation with the judge and their master's decision, when the devil, who never sleeps, contrived that the barber, from whom Don Quixote had taken Mambrino's helmet, and Sancho Panza the trappings of his

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ass in exchange for those of his own, should at this instant enter the inn; which said barber, as he led his ass to the stable, observed Sancho Panza engaged in repairing something or other belonging to the pack-saddle; and the moment he saw it he knew it, and made bold to attack Sancho, exclaiming, "Ho, sir thief, I have caught you! hand over my basin and my pack-saddle, and all my trappings that you robbed me of."

Sancho, finding himself so unexpectedly assailed, and hearing the abuse poured upon him, seized the pack-saddle with one hand, and with the other gave the barber a cuff that bathed his teeth in blood. The barber, however, was not so ready to relinquish the prize he had made in the pack-saddle; on the contrary, he raised such an outcry that everyone in the inn came running to know what the noise and quarrel meant. "Here, in the name of the king and justice!" he cried, "this thief and highwayman wants to kill me for trying to recover my property."

"You lie," said Sancho, "I am no highwayman; it was in fair war my master Don Quixote won these spoils."

Don Quixote was standing by at the time, highly pleased to see his squire's stoutness, both offensive and defensive, and from that time forth he reckoned him a man of mettle, and in his heart resolved to dub him a knight on the first opportunity that presented itself, feeling sure that the order of chivalry would be fittingly bestowed upon him.

In the course of the altercation, among other things the barber said, "Gentlemen, this pack-saddle is mine as surely as I owe God a death, and I know it as well as if I had given birth to it, and here is my ass in the stable who will not let me lie; only try it, and if it does not fit him like a glove, call me a rascal; and what is more, the same day I was robbed of this, they robbed me likewise of a new brass basin, never yet handselled, that would fetch a crown any day."

At this Don Quixote could not keep himself from answering; and interposing between the two, and separating them, he placed the pack-saddle on the ground, to lie there in sight until the truth was established, and said, "Your worships may perceive clearly and plainly the error under which this worthy squire lies when he calls that a basin which was, is, and shall be the helmet of Mambrino, which I won from him in fair war, and made myself master of by legitimate and lawful possession. With the pack-saddle I do not concern myself; but I may tell you on that head that my squire Sancho asked my permission to strip off the caparison of this vanquished poltroon's steed, and

with it adorn his own; I allowed him, and he took it; and as to its having been changed from a caparison into a pack-saddle, I can give no explanation except the usual one, that such transformations will take place in adventures of chivalry. To confirm all which, run, Sancho my son, and fetch hither the helmet which this good fellow calls a basin."

"Egad, master," said Sancho, "if we have no other proof of our case than what your worship puts forward, Mambrino's helmet is just as much a basin as this good fellow's caparison is a pack-saddle."

"Do as I bid thee," said Don Quixote; "it cannot be that everything in this castle goes by enchantment."

Sancho hastened to where the basin was, and brought it back with him, and when Don Quixote saw it, he took hold of it and said, "Your worships may see with what a face this squire can assert that this is a basin and not the helmet I told you of; and I swear by the order of chivalry I profess, that this helmet is the identical one I took from him, without anything added to or taken from it."

## CHAPTER 45

**W**HAT do you think now, gentlemen," said the barber, "of what these gentles say, when they even want to make out that this is not a basin but a helmet?"

"And whoever says the contrary," said Don Quixote, "I will let him know he lies if he is a knight, and if he is a squire that he lies again a thousand times."

Our own barber, who was present at all this, and understood Don Quixote's humor so thoroughly, took it into his head to back up his delusion and carry on the joke for the general amusement; so addressing the other barber he said, "Señor barber, or whatever you are, you must know that I belong to your profession too, and have had a license to practice for more than twenty years, and I know the implements of the barber craft, every one of them, perfectly well; and I was likewise a soldier for some time in the days of my youth, and I know also what a helmet is, and a morion, and a headpiece with a visor, and other things pertaining to soldiering, I mean to say to soldiers' arms; and I say—saving better opinions and always with submission to sounder judgments—that this piece we have now before us, which this worthy

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gentleman has in his hands, not only is no barber's basin, but is as far from being one as white is from black, and truth from falsehood; I say, moreover, that this, although it is a helmet, is not a complete helmet."

"Certainly not," said Don Quixote, "for half of it is wanting, that is to say the beaver."

"It is quite true," said the curate, who saw the object of his friend the barber; and Cardenio, Don Fernando and his companions agreed with him, and even the judge, if his thoughts had not been so full of Don Luis's affair, would have helped to carry on the joke; but he was so taken up with the serious matters he had on his mind that he paid little or no attention to these facetious proceedings.

"God bless me!" exclaimed their butt the barber at this; "is it possible that such an honorable company can say that this is not a basin but a helmet? Why, this is a thing that would astonish a whole university, however wise it might be! That will do; if this basin is a helmet, why, then the pack-saddle must be a horse's caparison, as this gentleman has said."

"To me it looks like a pack-saddle," said Don Quixote; "but I have already said that with that question I do not concern myself." As regards the assertion that this is a basin and not a helmet I have already given an answer; but as to the question whether this is a pack-saddle or a caparison I will not venture to give a positive opinion, but will leave it to your worships' better judgment. Perhaps as you are not dubbed knights like myself, the enchantments of this place have nothing to do with you, and your faculties are unfettered, and you can see things in this castle as they really and truly are, and not as they appear to me."

"There can be no question," said Don Fernando on this, "but that Señor Don Quixote has spoken very wisely, and that with us rests the decision of this matter; and that we may have surer ground to go on, I will take the votes of the gentlemen in secret, and declare the result clearly and fully."

To those who were in the secret of Don Quixote's humor all this afforded great amusement; but to those who knew nothing about it, it seemed the greatest nonsense in the world, in particular to the four servants of Don Luis, as well as to Don Luis himself, and to three other travelers who had by chance come to the inn, and had the appearance of officers of the Holy Brotherhood, as indeed they were; but the one who above all was at his wits' end was the barber whose basin, there before his very eyes, had been turned into Mambrino's



helmet, and whose pack-saddle he had no doubt whatever was about to become a rich caparison for a horse. All laughed to see Don Fernando going from one to another collecting the votes, and whispering to them to give him their private opinion whether the treasure over which there had been so much fighting was a pack-saddle or a caparison; but after he had taken the votes of those who knew Don Quixote, he said aloud, "The fact is, my good fellow, that I am tired collecting such a number of opinions, for I find that there is not one of whom I ask what I desire to know, who does not tell me that it is absurd to say that this is the pack-saddle of an ass, and not the caparison of a horse, nay, of a thoroughbred horse; so you must submit, for, in spite of you and your ass, this is a caparison and no pack-saddle, and you have stated and proved your case very badly."

"May I never share heaven," said the poor barber, "if your worships are not all mistaken; and may my soul appear before God as that appears to me a pack-saddle and not a caparison; but 'laws go,'—I say no more; and indeed I am not drunk."

The simple talk of the barber did not afford less amusement than the absurdities of Don Quixote, who now observed, "There is no more to be done now than for each to take what belongs to him, and to whom God has given it, may St. Peter add his blessing."

But said one of the four servants, "Unless, indeed, this is a deliberate joke, I cannot bring myself to believe that men so intelligent as those present are, or seem to be, can venture to declare and assert that this is not a basin, and that not a pack-saddle; but as I perceive that they do assert and declare it, I can only come to the conclusion that there is some mystery in this persistence in what is so opposed to the evidence of experience and truth itself; for I swear by"—and here he rapped out a round oath—"all the people in the world will not make me believe that this is not a barber's basin and that a jackass's pack-saddle."

"It might easily be a she-ass's," observed the curate.

"It is all the same," said the servant; "that is not the point; but whether it is or is not a pack-saddle, as your worships say."

On hearing this one of the newly arrived officers of the Brotherhood, who had been listening to the dispute and controversy, unable to restrain his anger and impatience, exclaimed, "It is a pack-saddle as sure as my father is my father, and whoever has said or will say anything else must be drunk."

"You lie like a rascally clown," returned Don Quixote; and lifting

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his pike, which he had never let out of his hand, he delivered such a blow at his head that, had not the officer dodged it, it would have stretched him at full length. The pike was shivered in pieces against the ground, and the rest of the officers, seeing their comrade assaulted, raised a shout, calling for help for the Holy Brotherhood. The landlord, who was of the fraternity, ran at once to fetch his staff of office and his sword, and ranged himself on the side of his comrades; the servants of Don Luis clustered round him, lest he should escape from them in the confusion; the barber, seeing the house turned upside down, once more laid hold of his pack-saddle and Sancho did the same; Don Quixote drew his sword, and charged the officers; Don Luis cried out to his servants to leave him alone and go and help Don Quixote, and Cardenio and Don Fernando, who were supporting him; the curate was shouting at the top of his voice, the landlady was screaming, her daughter was wailing, Maritornes was weeping, Dorothea was aghast, Luscinda terror-stricken, and Doña Clara in a faint. The barber cudgelled Sancho, and Sancho pommeled the barber; Don Luis gave one of his servants, who ventured to catch him by the arm to keep him from escaping, a cuff that bathed his teeth in blood; the judge took his part; Don Fernando had got one of the officers down and was belaboring him heartily; the landlord raised his voice again calling for help for the Holy Brotherhood; so that the whole inn was nothing but cries, shouts, shrieks, confusion, terror, dismay, mishaps, sword-cuts, fisticuffs, cudgelings, kicks, and bloodshed; and in the midst of all this chaos, complication, and general entanglement, Don Quixote took it into his head that he had been plunged into the thick of the discord of Agramante's camp; and, in a voice that shook the inn like thunder, he cried out, "Hold all, let all sheathe their swords, let all be calm and attend to me as they value their lives!"

All paused at his mighty voice, and he went on to say, "Did I not tell you, sirs, that this castle was enchanted, and that a legion or so of devils dwelt in it? In proof whereof I call upon you to behold with your own eyes how the discord of Agramante's camp has come hither, and been transferred into the midst of us. See how they fight, there for the sword, here for the horse, on that side for the eagle, on this for the helmet; we are all fighting, and all at cross purposes. Come then, you, señor judge, and you, señor curate; let the one represent King Agramante and the other King Sobrino, and make peace among us; for by God Almighty it is a sorry business that so many persons of quality as we are should slay one another for such trifling cause."

At length the uproar was stilled for the present; the pack-saddle remained a caparison till the day of judgment, and the basin a helmet and the inn a castle in Don Quixote's imagination.

## CHAPTER 46

THE ILLUSTRIOUS company had now been two days in the inn; and as it seemed to them time to depart, they devised a plan so that, without giving Dorothea and Don Fernando the trouble of going back with Don Quixote to his village under pretense of restoring Queen Micomicona, the curate and the barber might carry him away with them as they proposed, and the curate be able to take his madness in hand at home; and in pursuance of their plan they arranged with the owner of an ox-cart who happened to be passing that way to carry him after this fashion. They constructed a kind of cage with wooden bars, large enough to hold Don Quixote comfortably; and then Don Fernando and his companions, the servants of Don Luis, and the officers of the Brotherhood, together with the landlord, by the directions and advice of the curate, covered their faces and disguised themselves, some in one way, some in another, so as to appear to Don Quixote quite different from the persons he had seen in the castle. This done, in profound silence they entered the room where he was asleep, taking his rest after the past frays, and advancing to where he was sleeping tranquilly, not dreaming of anything of the kind happening, they seized him firmly and bound him fast hand and foot, so that, when he awoke startled, he was unable to move, and could only marvel and wonder at the strange figures he saw before him; upon which he at once gave way to the idea which his crazed fancy invariably conjured up before him, and took it into his head that all these shapes were phantoms of the enchanted castle, and that he himself was unquestionably enchanted as he could neither move nor help himself; precisely what the curate, the concocter of the scheme, expected would happen. Of all that were there Sancho was the only one who was at once in his senses and in his own proper character, and he, though he was within very little of sharing his master's infirmity, did not fail to perceive who all these disguised figures were; but he did not dare to open his lips until he saw what came of this assault and capture of his master; nor did the latter utter a word, waiting to see

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the upshot of his mishap; which was that, bringing in the cage, they shut him up in it and nailed the bars so firmly that they could not be easily burst open. They then took him on their shoulders, and as they passed out of the room an awful voice—as much so as the barber, not he of the pack-saddle but the other, was able to make it—was heard to say, “O Knight of the Rueful Countenance, let not this captivity in which thou art placed afflict thee, for this must needs be, for the more speedy accomplishment of the adventure in which thy great heart has engaged thee; the which shall be accomplished when the raging Manchegan lion and the white Tobosan dove shall be linked together, having first humbled their haughty necks to the gentle yoke of matrimony. And from this marvelous union shall come forth to the light of the world brave whelps, that shall rival the ravening claws of their valiant father; and this shall come to pass ere the pursuer of the flying nymph shall in his swift natural course have twice visited the starry signs.”

Don Quixote was comforted by the prophecy he heard, for he at once comprehended its meaning perfectly and perceived it was promised to him that he should see himself united in holy and lawful matrimony with his beloved Dulcinea del Toboso, from whose blessed womb should proceed the whelps, his sons, to the eternal glory of La Mancha; and being thoroughly and firmly persuaded of this, he lifted up his voice, and with a deep sigh exclaimed, “O thou, whoever thou art, who hast foretold me so much good, I implore of thee that on my part thou entreat that sage enchanter who takes charge of my interests, that he leave me not to perish in this captivity in which they are now carrying me away, ere I see fulfilled promises so joyful and incomparable as those which have been now made me; for, let this but come to pass, and I shall glory in the pains of my prison, find comfort in these chains wherewith they bind me, and regard this bed whereon they stretch me, not as a hard battlefield, but as a soft and happy nuptial couch; and touching the consolation of Sancho Panza, my squire, I rely upon his goodness and rectitude that he will not desert me in good or evil fortune; for if, by his ill luck or mine, it may not happen to be in my power to give him the island I have promised, or any equivalent for it, at least his wages shall not be lost; for in my will, which is already made, I have declared the sum that shall be paid to him, measured, not by his many faithful services, but by the means at my disposal.”

Sancho bowed his head very respectfully and kissed both his hands,

for being tied together, he could not kiss one; and then the apparitions lifted the cage upon their shoulders and fixed it upon the ox-cart.

## CHAPTER 47

WHEN Don Quixote saw himself caged and hoisted on the cart in this way, he said, "Many grave histories of knights-errant have I read; but never yet have I read, seen, or heard of their carrying off enchanted knights-errant in this fashion, or at the slow pace that these lazy, sluggish animals promise; for they always take them away through the air with marvelous swiftness, enveloped in a dark thick cloud, or on a chariot of fire, or it may be on some hippogriff or other beast of the kind; but to carry me off like this on an ox-cart! By God, it puzzles me! But perhaps the chivalry and enchantments of our day take a different course from that of those in days gone by; and it may be, too, that, as I am a new knight in the world, and the first to revive the already forgotten calling of knight-adventurers, they may have newly invented other kinds of enchantments and other modes of carrying off the enchanted. What thinkest thou of the matter, Sancho, my son?"

"I don't know what to think," answered Sancho, "not being as well read as your worship in errant writings; but for all that I venture to say and swear that these apparitions that are about us are not quite Catholic."

"Catholic!" said Don Quixote. "Father of me! how can they be Catholic when they are all devils that have taken fantastic shapes to come and do this, and bring me to this condition? And if thou wouldst prove it, touch them, and feel them, and thou wilt find they have only bodies of air, and no consistency except in appearance."

"By God, master," returned Sancho, "I have touched them already; and that devil, that goes about there so busily, has firm flesh, and another property very different from what I have heard say devils have, for by all accounts they all smell of brimstone and other bad smells; but this one smells of amber half a league off." Sancho was here speaking of Don Fernando, who, like a gentleman of his rank, was very likely perfumed as Sancho said.

"Marvel not at that, Sancho my friend," said Don Quixote; "for let me tell thee devils are crafty; and even if they do carry odors about

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with them, they themselves have no smell, because they are spirits; or, if they have any smell, they cannot smell of anything sweet, but of something foul and fetid; and the reason is that as they carry hell with them wherever they go, and can get no ease whatever from their torments, and as a sweet smell is a thing that gives pleasure and enjoyment, it is impossible that they can smell sweet; if, then, this devil thou speakest of seems to thee to smell of amber, either thou art deceiving thyself, or he wants to deceive thee by making thee fancy he is not a devil."

Such was the conversation that passed between master and man; and Don Fernando and Cardenio, apprehensive of Sancho's making a complete discovery of their scheme, towards which he had already gone some way, resolved to hasten their departure, and calling the landlord aside, they directed him to saddle Rocinante and put the pack-saddle on Sancho's ass, which he did with great alacrity. In the meantime the curate had made an arrangement with the officers that they should bear them company as far as his village, he paying them so much a day. Cardenio hung the buckler on one side of the bow of Rocinante's saddle and the basin on the other, and by signs commanded Sancho to mount his ass and take Rocinante's bridle, and at each side of the cart he placed two officers with their muskets; but before the cart was put in motion, out came the landlady and her daughter and Maritornes to bid Don Quixote farewell, pretending to weep with grief at his misfortune; and to them Don Quixote said, "Weep not, good ladies, for all these mishaps are the lot of those who follow the profession I profess; and if these reverses did not befall me I should not esteem myself a famous knight-errant; for such things never happen to knights of little renown and fame, because nobody in the world thinks about them; to valiant knights they do."

While this was passing between the ladies of the castle and Don Quixote, the curate and the barber bade farewell to Don Fernando and his companions, to the captain, his brother, and the ladies, now all made happy, and in particular to Dorothea and Luscinda. They all embraced one another, and promised to let each other know how things went with them, and Don Fernando directed the curate where to write to him, to tell him what became of Don Quixote, assuring him that there was nothing that could give him more pleasure than to hear, and that he too, on his part, would send him word of everything he thought he would like to know, about his marriage, Zoraida's baptism, Don Luis's affair, and Luscinda's return to her home. The curate

promised to comply with his request carefully, and they embraced once more, and renewed their promises.

He then mounted and his friend the barber did the same, both masked, so as not to be recognized by Don Quixote, and set out following in the rear of the cart. The order of march was this: first went the cart with the owner leading it; at each side of it marched the officers of the Brotherhood, as has been said, with their muskets; then followed Sancho Panza on his ass, leading Rocinante by the bridle; and behind all came the curate and the barber on their mighty mules, with faces covered, as aforesaid, and a grave and serious air, measuring their pace to suit the slow steps of the oxen. Don Quixote was seated in the cage, with his hands tied and his feet stretched out, leaning against the bars as silent and as patient as if he were a stone statue and not a man of flesh. Thus slowly and silently they made, it might be, two leagues, until they reached a valley which the carter thought a convenient place for resting and feeding his oxen.

Just at that moment the curate, looking back, saw coming on behind them six or seven mounted men, well found and equipped, who soon overtook them, for they were traveling, not at the sluggish, deliberate pace of oxen, but like men who rode canons' mules, and in haste to take their noontide rest as soon as possible at the inn which was in sight not a league off. The quick travelers came up with the slow, and courteous salutations were exchanged; and one of the newcomers, who was, in fact, a canon of Toledo and master of the others who accompanied him, observing the regular order of the procession, the cart, the officers, Sancho, Rocinante, the curate and the barber, and above all Don Quixote caged and confined, could not help asking what was the meaning of carrying the man in that fashion; though, from the badges of the officers, he already concluded that he must be some desperate highwayman or other malefactor whose punishment fell within the jurisdiction of the Holy Brotherhood. One of the officers to whom he had put the question, replied, "Let the gentleman himself tell you the meaning of his going this way, señor, for we do not know."

Don Quixote overheard the conversation and said, "Haply, gentlemen, you are versed and learned in matters of chivalry? Because if you are I will tell you my misfortunes; if not, there is no good in my giving myself the trouble of relating them"; but here the curate and the barber, seeing that the travelers were engaged in conversation

## DON QUIXOTE

with Don Quixote, came forward, in order to answer in such a way as to save their stratagem from being discovered.

The canon, replying to Don Quixote, said, "In truth, brother, I know more about books of chivalry than I do about Villalpando's elements of logic; so if that be all, you may safely tell me what you please."

"In God's name, then, señor," replied Don Quixote; "if that be so, I would have you know that I am held enchanted in this cage by the envy and fraud of wicked enchanters."

"What Señor Don Quixote of La Mancha says," observed the curate, "is the truth; for he goes enchanted in this cart, not from any fault or sins of his, but because of the malevolence of those to whom virtue is odious and valor hateful."

When the canon heard both the prisoner and the man who was at liberty talk in such a strain he was ready to cross himself in his astonishment, and could not make out what had befallen him; and all his attendants were in the same state of amazement.

At this point Sancho Panza, who had drawn near to hear the conversation, said, in order to make everything plain, "Well, sirs, you may like or dislike what I am going to say, but the fact of the matter is, my master, Don Quixote, is just as much enchanted as my mother. He is in his full senses, he eats and he drinks, and he has his calls like other men and as he had yesterday, before they caged him. And if that's the case, what do they mean by wanting me to believe that he is enchanted?" Then turning to the curate he exclaimed, "And señor curate, señor curate! do you think I don't know you? Do you think I don't guess and see the drift of these new enchantments? Well, then, I can tell you I know you, for all your face is covered, and I can tell you I am up to you, however you may hide your tricks. Ill betide the devil! if it had not been for your worship my master would be married to the Princess Micomicona this minute, and I should be a count at least; for no less was to be expected, as well from the goodness of my master, him of the Rueful Countenance, as from the greatness of my services. But I see now how true it is what they say in these parts, that the wheel of fortune turns faster than a mill-wheel, and that those who were up yesterday are down to-day. I am sorry for my wife and children, for when they might fairly and reasonably expect to see their father return to them a governor or viceroy of some island or kingdom, they will see him come back a horse-boy. I have said all this,



señor curate, only to urge your paternity to lay to your conscience your ill-treatment of my master; and have a care that God does not call you to account in another life for making a prisoner of him in this way."

"Trim those lamps there!" exclaimed the barber at this; "so you are of the same fraternity as your master, too, Sancho? By God, I begin to see that you will have to keep him company in the cage, and be enchanted like him for having caught some of his humor and chivalry. It was an evil hour when you let yourself be got with child by his promises, and that island you long so much for found its way into your head."

"I am not with child by anyone," returned Sancho, "nor am I a man to let myself be got with child, if it was by the King himself. Though I am poor I am an old Christian, and I owe nothing to nobody, and if I long for an island, other people long for worse. Each of us is the son of his own works; and being a man I may come to be pope, not to say governor of an island, especially as my master may win so many that he will not know whom to give them to. Mind how you talk, master barber; for shaving is not everything; and as to the enchantment of my master, God knows the truth; leave it as it is; it will only make it worse to stir it."

The barber did not care to answer Sancho lest by his plain speaking he should disclose what the curate and he himself were trying so hard to conceal; and under the same apprehension the curate had asked the canon to ride on a little in advance, so that he might tell him the mystery of this man in the cage, and other things that would amuse him. The canon agreed, and going on ahead with his servants, listened with attention to the account of the character, life, madness, and ways of Don Quixote.

## CHAPTERS 48, 49, 50, AND 51

*[The kindly and intelligent canon does his best in a man-to-man fashion to persuade Don Quixote of the folly of his ways, but after a long argument he has to give the knight up as hopeless. While out of his cage for lunch, the Don confirms his madness for the last time by attacking a religious procession. He is knocked off Rocinante by a peasant and winds up in his cage again, sadder but not wiser.]*

## CHAPTER 52

THEY ALL separated and went their ways, leaving to themselves the curate and the barber, Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and the good Rocinante, who regarded everything with as great resignation as his master. The carter yoked his oxen and made Don Quixote comfortable on a truss of hay, and at his usual deliberate pace took the road the curate directed, and at the end of six days they reached Don Quixote's village, and entered it about the middle of the day, which it so happened was a Sunday, and the people were all in the plaza, through which Don Quixote's cart passed. They all flocked to see what was in the cart, and when they recognized their townsman they were filled with amazement, and a boy ran off to bring the news to his house-keeper and his niece that their master and uncle had come back all lean and yellow and stretched on a truss of hay on an ox-cart. It was piteous to hear the cries the two good ladies raised, how they beat their breasts and poured out fresh maledictions on those accursed books of chivalry; all which was renewed when they saw Don Quixote coming in at the gate.

At the news of Don Quixote's arrival Sancho Panza's wife came running, for she by this time knew that her husband had gone away with him as his squire, and on seeing Sancho, the first thing she asked him was if the ass was well. Sancho replied that he was, better than his master was.

"Thanks be to God," said she, "for being so good to me; but now tell me, my friend, what have you made by your squirings? What gown have you brought me back? What shoes for your children?"

"I bring nothing of that sort, wife," said Sancho; "though I bring other things of more consequence and value."

"I am very glad of that," returned his wife; "show me these things of more value and consequence, my friend; for I want to see them to cheer my heart that has been so sad and heavy all these ages that you have been away."

"I will show them to you at home, wife," said Sancho; "be content for the present; for if it please God that we should again go on our travels in search of adventures, you will soon see me a count, or governor of an island, and that not one of those every-day ones, but the best that is to be had."

"Heaven grant it, husband," said she, "for indeed we have need of it. But tell me, what's this about islands, for I don't understand it?"

"Honey is not for the mouth of the ass," returned Sancho; "all in good time thou shalt see, wife—nay, thou wilt be surprised to hear thyself called 'your ladyship,' by all thy vassals."

"What are you talking about, Sancho, with your ladyships, islands, and vassals?" returned Teresa Panza—for so Sancho's wife was called, though they were not relations, for in La Mancha it is customary for wives to take their husbands' surnames.

"Don't be in such a hurry to know all this, Teresa," said Sancho; "it is enough that I am telling you the truth, so shut your mouth. But I may tell you this much by the way, that there is nothing in the world more delightful than to be a person of consideration, squire to a knight-errant, and a seeker of adventures. To be sure most of those one finds do not end as pleasantly as one could wish, for out of a hundred that one meets with, ninety-nine will turn out cross and contrary. I know it by experience, for out of some I came blanketed, and out of others belabored. Still, for all that, it is a fine thing to be on the lookout for what may happen, crossing mountains, searching woods, climbing rocks, visiting castles, putting up at inns, all at free quarters, and devil take the maravedi to pay."

While this conversation passed between Sancho Panza and his wife, Don Quixote's housekeeper and niece took him in and undressed him and laid him in his old bed. He eyed them askance, and could not make out where he was. The curate charged his niece to be very careful to make her uncle comfortable and to keep a watch over him lest he should make his escape from them again, telling her what they had been obliged to do to bring him home. On this the pair once more lifted up their voices and renewed their maledictions upon the books of chivalry, and implored Heaven to plunge the authors of such lies and nonsense into the midst of the bottomless pit. They were, in short, kept in anxiety and dread lest their uncle and master should give them the slip the moment he found himself somewhat better, and as they feared so it fell out.

But the author of this history, though he has devoted research and industry to the discovery of the deeds achieved by Don Quixote in his third sally, has been unable to obtain any information respecting them, at any rate derived from authentic documents; tradition has merely preserved in the memory of La Mancha the fact that Don Quixote, the third time he sallied forth from his home, betook himself to Sara-

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gossa, where he was present at some famous jousts which came off in that city, and that he had adventures there worthy of his valor and high intelligence. Of his end and death he could learn no particulars, nor would he have ascertained it or known of it, if good fortune had not produced an old physician for him who had in his possession a leaden box, which, according to his account, had been discovered among the crumbling foundations of an ancient hermitage that was being rebuilt; in which box were found certain parchment manuscripts in Gothic character, but in Castilian verse, containing many of his achievements, and setting forth the beauty of Dulcinea, the form of Rocinante, the fidelity of Sancho Panza, and the burial of Don Quixote himself, together with sundry epitaphs and eulogies on his life and character; but all that could be read and deciphered were those which the trustworthy author of this new and unparalleled history here presents. And the said author asks of those that shall read it nothing in return for the vast toil which it has cost him in examining and searching the Manchegan archives in order to bring it to light, save that they give him the same credit that people of sense give to the books of chivalry that pervade the world and are so popular; for with this he will consider himself amply paid and fully satisfied, and will be encouraged to seek out and produce other histories, if not as truthful, at least equal in invention and not less entertaining.



# THE CASK OF AMONTILLADO

*by*  
*Edgar Allan Poe*





## HOME COURSE APPRECIATION



ON OCTOBER 9, 1849, there appeared in the New York *Tribune* an article that has gone down as one of the strangest obituaries in history. It began:

“Edgar Allan Poe is dead. He died in Baltimore the day before yesterday. This announcement will startle many, but few will be grieved by it. The poet was well-known, personally or by reputation, in all this country; he had readers in England, and in several of the states of Continental Europe, but he had no friends.”

It is even more strange that this article should have been written by a friend, but Poe was not a simple man, and while friendship with him may have been interesting, it was even more of a trial. To those he loved he was gentle, affectionate, considerate, and devoted. But those who were the object of his criticism found him arrogant, self-centered, rebellious, restrained neither by conscience nor principle.

Orphaned when he was three, Poe was befriended by well-to-do Mr. and Mrs. John Allan, a childless couple of Richmond, Virginia. An austere merchant, Allan had no understanding of the boy, and gave him a training that was directly opposite to his natural character. He educated him in England, then in a private school in Richmond, and finally sent him to the University of Virginia. Poe spent a year at the University where he did brilliantly in his studies, but amassed gambling debts exceeding \$2,000.

After quarreling violently with Mr. Allan, Poe ran away to Boston where he published his first book of poems, *Tamerlane and Other Poems. By a Bostonian*, and joined the army as Edgar A. Perry. He





“ . . . into the inmost recesses of the catacombs . . .

I made bold to seize Fortunato. . . .”

spent two years in the army, with a perfect record, until Allan, learning of his whereabouts, agreed to help him get an appointment to West Point. A little more than a year after Sergeant-Major Perry was discharged from the ranks, Cadet Poe began his training as an officer. He punctuated this new venture with another book of poems, *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems*. He stayed at West Point for a year and a half before escaping a life that had proved uncongenial by getting himself expelled. Once again he marked a change in his life by publishing a book, this time titled simply *Poems*, Edgar A. Poe.

In 1832 he settled in Baltimore as a man of letters. He struggled with poverty, experienced actual want, and was sustained only by his pride and his purpose—to make his mark in literature in the United States and the world. Disappointments in love and some snubs by society had dire effects upon his personality. He seems to have had a psychological need of alcohol at the same time that he suffered from a physical condition that made him highly susceptible to its effects. This affliction kept him from retaining the literary editorships of many magazines he had raised to prosperity. He abstained, on the whole, after his marriage to his young cousin Virginia Clemm, but relapsed

when she fell dangerously ill in 1841. Her death in 1847 affected him severely; he seems to have suffered from temporary deliriums, and in 1849 he died under strange and still confused circumstances.

When he was young, literature meant to him only one thing: poetry. But he had to earn a living, and horror stories were the fashion of the day. From his tormented soul and brilliant imagination he devised haunting plots, peopled with nightmare characters, where terror lurked and the supernatural ruled. His horror stories, in which he put to use his close observation of minute detail and his keen, analytical logic, created a new form of literature. They have earned for Poe the title, "Father of the Detective Story."

*The Cask of Amontillado*—a Tale of Wickedness and Crime—was first published in GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK in January, 1846. It appears now that Poe got his idea from a story, *A Man Built in a Wall*, which had been published the previous year by the Reverend Joel Tyler Headley in his book *Letters from Italy*. While retaining some of the original details—the location in Italy, the desire for revenge, the method of murder—Poe brought to them his particular skill: the creation of one single effect of horror.

From the very first sentence we know we are in for it. "The thousand injuries of Fortunato I had borne as I best could, but when he ventured upon insult, I vowed revenge." It remains only to follow the grisly affair, to stand helplessly, hopelessly transfixed as we hear the jingling of the bells and witness the fiendish end.

Poe's art is a model of simplicity; everything is foreseen, everything is dramatically controlled. Every detail, from the first sentence that sets the mood to the final catastrophe, is made to contribute to the effect he sought.

Poe did not tolerate realism. He had no sympathy with the group of writers who were using native scenes and legends to create a distinctly American literature. To him art meant only beauty and true beauty always contained an element of strangeness or vagueness. His genius was first recognized abroad; indeed, even now he is held in greater respect in France than in his own land. Perhaps no one did more to make the world aware of his greatness than Baudelaire, himself a poet of the greatest originality. "He is a saint," Baudelaire said, "to whom we should kneel down and pray."




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THE THOUSAND INJURIES of Fortunato I had borne as I best could; but when he ventured upon insult, I vowed revenge. You, who so well know the nature of my soul, will not suppose, however, that I gave utterance to a threat. *At length* I would be avenged; this was a point definitively settled—but the very definitiveness with which it was resolved, precluded the idea of risk. I must not only punish, but punish with impunity. A wrong is unredressed when retribution overtakes its redresser. It is equally unredressed when the avenger fails to make himself felt as such to him who has done the wrong.

It must be understood, that neither by word nor deed had I given Fortunato cause to doubt my good will. I continued, as was my wont, to smile in his face, and he did not perceive that my smile *now* was at the thought of his immolation.

He had a weak point—this Fortunato—although in other regards he was a man to be respected and even feared. He prided himself on his connoisseurship in wine. Few Italians have the true virtuoso spirit. For the most part their enthusiasm is adopted to suit the time and opportunity—to practise imposture upon the British and Austrian *millionnaires*. In painting and gemmery Fortunato, like his countrymen, was a quack—but in the matter of old wines he was sincere. In this respect I did not differ from him materially: I was skillful in the Italian vintages myself, and bought largely whenever I could.

It was about dusk, one evening during the supreme madness of the carnival season, that I encountered my friend. He accosted me with

excessive warmth, for he had been drinking much. The man wore motley. He had on a tight-fitting parti-striped dress, and his head was surmounted by the conical cap and bells. I was so pleased to see him that I thought I should never have done wringing his hand.

I said to him: "My dear Fortunato, you are luckily met. How remarkably well you are looking to-day! But I have received a pipe of what passes for Amontillado, and I have my doubts."

"How?" said he. "Amontillado? A pipe? Impossible! And in the middle of the carnival!"

"I have my doubts," I replied; "and I was silly enough to pay the full Amontillado price without consulting you in the matter. You were not to be found, and I was fearful of losing a bargain."

"Amontillado!"

"I have my doubts."

"Amontillado!"

"And I must satisfy them."

"Amontillado!"

"As you are engaged, I am on my way to Luchesi. If anyone has a critical turn, it is he. He will tell me—"

"Luchesi cannot tell Amontillado from sherry."

"And yet some fools will have it that his taste is a match for your own."

"Come, let us go."

"Whither?"

"To your vaults."

"My friend, no; I will not impose upon your good nature. I perceive you have an engagement. Luchesi—"

"I have no engagement—come."

"My friend, no. It is not the engagement, but the severe cold with which I perceive you are afflicted. The vaults are insufferably damp. They are encrusted with niter."

"Let us go, nevertheless. The cold is merely nothing. Amontillado! You have been imposed upon. And as for Luchesi, he cannot distinguish sherry from Amontillado."

Thus speaking, Fortunato possessed himself of my arm. Putting on a mask of black silk, and drawing a *roquelaire* closely about my person, I suffered him to hurry me to my palazzo.

There were no attendants at home; they had absconded to make merry in honor of the time. I had told them that I should not return until the morning, and had given them explicit orders not to stir from

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the house. These orders were sufficient, I well knew, to insure their immediate disappearance, one and all, as soon as my back was turned.

I took from their sconces two flambeaux, and giving one to Fortunato, bowed him through several suites of rooms to the archway that led into the vaults. I passed down a long and winding staircase, requesting him to be cautious as he followed. We came at length to the foot of the descent, and stood together on the damp ground of the catacombs of the Montresors.

The gait of my friend was unsteady, and the bells upon his cap jingled as he strode.

"The pipe?" said he.

"It is farther on," said I. "But observe the white web-work which gleams from these cavern walls."

He turned toward me, and looked into my eyes with two filmy orbs that distilled the rheum of intoxication.

"Niter?" he asked, at length.

"Niter," I replied. "How long have you had that cough?"

"Ugh! ugh! ugh!—ugh! ugh! ugh!—ugh! ugh! ugh!—ugh! ugh! ugh!—ugh! ugh! ugh!"

My poor friend found it impossible to reply for many minutes.

"It is nothing," he said, at last.

"Come," I said with decision, "we will go back; your health is precious. You are rich, respected, admired, beloved; you are happy, as once I was. You are a man to be missed. For me it is no matter. We will go back; you will be ill, and I cannot be responsible. Besides, there is Luchesi—"

"Enough," he said; "the cough is a mere nothing; it will not kill me. I shall not die of a cough."

"True—true," I replied; "and, indeed, I had no intention of alarming you unnecessarily; but you should use all proper caution. A draught of this Medoc will defend us from the damp."

Here I knocked off the neck of a bottle which I drew from a long row of its fellows that lay upon the mold.

"Drink," I said, presenting him the wine.

He raised it to his lips with a leer. He paused and nodded to me familiarly, while his bells jingled.

"I drink," he said, "to the buried that repose around us."

"And I to your long life."

He again took my arm, and we proceeded.

"These vaults," he said, "are extensive."

"The Montresors," I replied, "were a great and numerous family."

"I forget your arms."

"A huge human foot d'or, in a field azure; the foot crushes a serpent rampant whose fangs are imbedded in the heel."

"And the motto?"

"*Nemo me impune lacessit.*"

"Good!" he said.

The wine sparkled in his eyes and the bells jingled. My own fancy grew warm with the Medoc. We had passed through walls of piled bones, with casks and puncheons intermingling, into the inmost recesses of the catacombs. I paused again, and this time I made bold to seize Fortunato by an arm above the elbow.

"The niter!" I said. "See, it increases. It hangs like moss upon the vaults. We are below the river's bed. The drops of moisture trickle among the bones. Come, we will go back ere it is too late. Your cough—"

"It is nothing," he said. "Let us go on. But first, another draught of the Medoc."

I broke and reached him a flagon of De Grève. He emptied it at a breath. His eyes flashed with a fierce light. He laughed and threw the bottle upward with a gesticulation I did not understand.

I looked at him in surprise. He repeated the movement—a grotesque one.

"You do not comprehend?" he said.

"Not I," I replied.

"Then you are not of the brotherhood."

"How?"

"You are not of the masons."

"Yes, yes," I said. "Yes, yes."

"You? Impossible! A mason?"

"A mason," I replied.

"A sign," he said.

"It is this," I answered, producing a trowel from beneath the folds of my *roquelaire*.

"You jest," he exclaimed, recoiling a few paces. "But let us proceed to the Amontillado."

"Be it so," I said, replacing the tool beneath the cloak, and again offering him my arm. He leaned upon it heavily. We continued our route in search of the Amontillado. We passed through a range of low arches, descended, passed on, and descending again, arrived at a deep

## THE CASK OF AMONTILLADO

crypt, in which the foulness of the air caused our flambeaux rather to glow than flame.

At the most remote end of the crypt there appeared another less spacious. Its walls had been lined with human remains, piled to the vault overhead, in the fashion of the great catacombs of Paris. Three sides of this interior crypt were still ornamented in this manner. From the fourth the bones had been thrown down, and lay promiscuously upon the earth, forming at one point a mound of some size. Within the wall thus exposed by the displacing of the bones, we perceived a still interior recess, in depth about four feet, in width three, in height six or seven. It seemed to have been constructed for no especial use within itself, but formed merely the interval between two of the colossal supports of the roof of the catacombs, and was backed by one of their circumscribing walls of solid granite.

It was in vain that Fortunato, uplifting his dull torch, endeavored to pry into the depth of the recess. Its termination the feeble light did not enable us to see.

"Proceed," I said. "Herein is the Amontillado. As for Luchesi—"

"He is an ignoramus," interrupted my friend, as he stepped unsteadily forward, while I followed immediately at his heels. In an instant he had reached the extremity of the niche, and finding his progress arrested by the rock, stood stupidly bewildered. A moment more and I had fettered him to the granite. In its surface were two iron staples, distant from each other about two feet, horizontally. From one of these depended a short chain, from the other a padlock. Throwing the links about his waist, it was but the work of a few seconds to secure it. He was too much astounded to resist. Withdrawing the key, I stepped back from the recess.

"Pass your hand," I said, "over the wall; you cannot help feeling the niter. Indeed it is *very* damp. Once more let me *implore* you to return. No? Then I must positively leave you. But I must first render you all the little attentions in my power."

"The Amontillado!" ejaculated my friend, not yet recovered from his astonishment.

"True," I replied, "the Amontillado."

As I said these words I busied myself among the pile of bones of which I have before spoken. Throwing them aside, I soon uncovered a quantity of building stone and mortar. With these materials and with the aid of my trowel, I began vigorously to wall up the entrance of the niche.



I had scarcely laid the first tier of the masonry when I discovered that the intoxication of Fortunato had in a great measure worn off. The earliest indication I had of this was a low moaning cry from the depth of the recess. It was *not* the cry of a drunken man. There was then a long and obstinate silence. I laid the second tier, and the third, and the fourth; and then I heard the furious vibrations of the chain. The noise lasted for several minutes, during which, that I might hearken to it with the more satisfaction, I ceased my labors and sat down upon the bones. When at last the clanking subsided, I resumed the trowel, and finished without interruption the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh tier. The wall was now nearly upon a level with my breast. I again paused, and holding the flambeaux over the mason-work, threw a few feeble rays upon the figure within.

A succession of loud and shrill screams, bursting suddenly from the throat of the chained form, seemed to thrust me violently back. For a brief moment I hesitated—I trembled. Unsheathing my rapier, I began to grope with it about the recess; but the thought of an instant reassured me. I placed my hand upon the solid fabric of the catacombs, and felt satisfied. I reapproached the wall. I replied to the yells of him who clamored. I re-echoed—I aided—I surpassed them in volume and in strength. I did this, and the clamorer grew still.

It was now midnight, and my task was drawing to a close. I had completed the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth tier. I had finished a portion of the last and the eleventh; there remained but a single stone to be fitted and plastered in. I struggled with its weight; I placed it partially in its destined position. But now there came from out the niche a low laugh that erected the hairs upon my head. It was succeeded by a sad voice, which I had difficulty in recognizing as that of the noble Fortunato. The voice said—

“Ha! ha! ha!—he! he!—a very good joke indeed—an excellent jest. We will have many a rich laugh about it at the palazzo—he! he! he!—over our wine—he! he! he!”

“The Amontillado!” I said.

“He! he! he!—he! he! he!—yes, the Amontillado. But is it not getting late? Will not they be awaiting us at the palazzo, the Lady Fortunato and the rest? Let us be gone.”

“Yes,” I said, “let us be gone.”

“*For the love of God, Montresor!*”

“Yes,” I said, “for the love of God!”

## THE CASK OF AMONTILLADO

But to these words I hearkened in vain for a reply. I grew impatient. I called aloud:

"Fortunato!"

No answer. I called again:

"Fortunato!"

No answer still. I thrust a torch through the remaining aperture and let it fall within. There came forth in return only a jingling of the bells. My heart grew sick—on account of the dampness of the catacombs. I hastened to make an end of my labor. I forced the last stone into its position; I plastered it up. Against the new masonry I re-erected the old rampart of bones. For half of a century no mortal has disturbed them. *In pace requiescat!*



# PLUTARCH'S LIVES

TRANSLATED BY

*John Dryden*

A CONDENSATION



NOTE: *The editor's introductory comments on the subjects of these biographies, summaries of various omitted passages and brief explanations of ancient place names, dates and similar points appear italicized and in brackets throughout the text.*



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## HOME COURSE APPRECIATION

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IT IS A PITY THAT SO MANY OF US were scared away from the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations in our early school days. The reason may have been the ponderous approach, or the niggling routine or the discouraging attitude that "the Greeks and the Romans are all dead and gone." Whatever the reason, we have been the losers, for the ancient civilizations are as fascinating as can be, and their men and women still beckon to us across two thousand years.

We have only to try to imagine ourselves with them, talking with them, hearing their thoughts and gossip, to realize what we have missed by not knowing them better. It is such a book as Plutarch's *Lives* that brings this home to us.

Plutarch's swift and colorful biographies are like the work of a great reporter, catching all the drama of human beings in their triumphs and disasters, conveying the "feel" of time and place so vividly that we seem to witness directly the situations he describes. He is full of information about the two civilizations which have left their mark on everything we do today.

Outstanding men for centuries have drawn wisdom and counsel from Plutarch, who is an illuminating guide in matters of private and public ethics, especially in his *Lives*. These biographies deal with great Greek and Roman political figures, ranging from the mythical times of Romulus and Odysseus to the founding of the Roman Empire half a century before the time of Plutarch himself. Keenly aware of the importance of his own era, Plutarch directs much of his interest toward the leading figures of the preceding century. He follows the rise of these men to power, their exploits in the Senate or on the field of battle; and behind their public lives he gives us a wealth of more intimate information, passing on fascinating bits that escape the mere historian. And always, he tries to compare the present with the past,

the culture of Greece with that of Rome and the life of virtue with the life of vice.

His skillful analyses of human character in the midst of challenging circumstances, and his wealth of anecdote and dramatic situations provide a quarry to be worked over not only by politicians but also by philosophers, and above all by literary men.

#### HOW SHAKESPEARE USED PLUTARCH

Plutarch was an amazing revelation to Shakespeare. The plot material and characterizations of *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus* and *Timon of Athens* were to a large extent borrowed from the *Lives*. Indeed, so greatly was Shakespeare impressed with Plutarch's judgment that he remodeled his characters of Caesar and Brutus entirely. Following Plutarch, he makes the glorious Caesar an embodiment of ambition and vanity, whereas the honest, but rather dull assassin, Brutus, is described by Antony as "the noblest Roman of them all." Only the greatest genius could have seen the heroic aspects in the murderer of an unarmed man, however exalted or misguided his motives. Yet Shakespeare never makes his characters one-sided, for it is Caesar who has our sympathy and it is he who survives his death to triumph in the end. Here Shakespeare began with Plutarch's very personal estimates of the two men.

Shakespeare greatly improved some of the language of the *Lives*, but often he only put Plutarch's prose into verse, and occasionally he simply lifted a line or passage.

Shakespeare's copy of North's translation of the *Lives* contained the following passage:

"Caesar also had Cassius in great jealousy and suspected him much: whereupon he said . . . to his friends, 'What will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks. . . . As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads,' quoth he, 'I never reckon on them; but these pale-visaged and carrion lean people, I fear them most.'"

Under Shakespeare's hand the wording is greatly strengthened, but the concept remains the same. Shakespeare wrote:

"CAESAR: Let me have men about me that are fat;  
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights.  
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;  
He thinks too much; such men are dangerous."

But sometimes, as at the finish of Mark Antony's speech over the



Julius Caesar: “glorious,” or  
“the embodiment of ambition and vanity”?



corpse of Caesar, Shakespeare adopts Plutarch's actual language: "Oh, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth, that I am meek and gentle with these butchers."

In the matter of plot, Shakespeare makes changes when it serves his point. This is seen, for example, in *Coriolanus*, when the hero is bent on his revenge. There is nothing in Plutarch about Coriolanus' threat to burn down the city in which his mother, wife and child still reside. Plutarch would have thought that the introduction of this gruesome threat was unfair to Coriolanus, but it doubtlessly increases the intensity of Shakespeare's play.

#### A NOTE ON ROMAN HISTORY

THE BIOGRAPHIES WHICH APPEAR in the accompanying volume of Classics were selected and arranged in such a way that the modern reader will, while reading them as stories of men, get an outline of the story of the Roman Republic. The period embraces the two centuries when Rome was expanding to become a world power, and gradually converting the democratic character of early Rome into the centralized dictatorship that came to be known as the Roman Empire.

We must remember that Plutarch wrote his biographies for the educated readers of his own day. Naturally, they could be expected to know a great deal about their own history and government and something about the Greek. Therefore, the author does not provide any more background material than is necessary for the purposes of a particular biography. But the modern reader must know something about Rome to better understand the circumstances that surround the actions of the men in these selections.

It is important to know, for instance, that these eight men lived in a Rome which was still a republic. Although Roman armies had conquered all the nations surrounding the Mediterranean Sea and had created an empire, the country had not yet become an empire in the sense that it was ruled by an Emperor.

It was a time of great expansion and wealth, but also one of moral confusion and political disorder. New problems arose in holding together so vast a government—problems of economics, land distribution, defense and general administration. Powerful business interests asserted themselves, and powerful military leaders dared to defy the state. From the far corners of the empire came unsettling ideas in philosophy, religion and modes of conduct.

One of the most interesting developments that can be observed by

the reader is the process through which the Roman Republic was destroyed and succeeded by the Empire. The Republic ended when Julius Caesar became so powerful he could have made himself Consul for life. The first official emperor, Augustus, was crowned only seventeen years after Caesar's death in 44 B.C.

## HOW ROME WAS GOVERNED BEFORE THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS

The early Republic was governed by magistrates who were elected every year, by the Senate and by the popular Assembly. The magistrates were two consuls, six praetors, ten tribunes, four aediles and twelve quaestors. The consul had a position like that of the President of the United States, but there were always two of them and they had equal rank and authority. The thirty-four magistrates were elected by the popular Assembly.

The Senate, with three hundred members, had almost complete control of the government, since the senators held their offices for life. They were all men who had been magistrates at one time and were therefore experienced administrators. The advice of the Senate had great weight with the yearly-elected magistrates.

Originally, the supreme power in the Roman Republic was held by the popular Assembly. This was a mass meeting that every Roman citizen had the right to attend, and in which he could vote if present. The Assembly passed all the Republic's laws. It also elected the consuls and other magistrates, and thus indirectly chose the senators, who had to be appointed from the ex-magistrates when vacancies arose.

At first, it may appear that the Roman people had a genuinely democratic government. The Assembly was, in theory, all-powerful, but there were so many legal ways of sidetracking and annulling laws that the government fell into the hands of a small group of rich and noble families, all holding life jobs in the Senate. Finally, a vicious circle was completed and no "new man" could be elected magistrate unless he came from a senatorial family.

## PLUTARCH'S OWN LIFE

**I**T IS PARADOXICAL that the greatest biographer of antiquity had no biographer himself. What we have are the bare outlines of his life and scattered references to himself and his friends that occur in his writings.





Brutus: "dull assassin," or "the noblest Roman of them all"?

Plutarch was born in Greece in the town of Chaeronea some time between 45 and 50 A.D. As a young man he studied physics and rhetoric, but his consuming interest was ethics. We know that he traveled widely, but he lived mostly in Chaeronea, where he kept a private school. Some time before 90 A.D. he was called to Rome "on public business," and there made important friends and gave lectures. Later Trajan gave him the consular rank, and at the end of his life Hadrian made him procurator of Greece.

Although Rome promised him a brilliant career, Plutarch turned his back on the glamorous capital of the world and returned to his humble birthplace.

"I prefer to live in a small city," said Plutarch, "that it may not become still smaller." He devoted himself to teaching and to civic affairs, welcoming even humble offices, and in 95 A.D. became a priest of Apollo for life. His wife, Timoxena, bore him four sons and one daughter. On the death of this only daughter, he wrote his wife that they must restrain their grief within reasonable limits. The urbane philosopher is, in this letter, an understanding husband and a loving father.

#### EIGHT LIVES: FROM REPUBLIC TO EMPIRE

The eight lives which appear in the accompanying volume deal with the struggle to preserve the Republic and with the final failure of this attempt. Marcus Cato, or Cato the Elder, is a champion of old republican virtue and patriotism, austere and sinewy. In the Senate he ended his speeches with "Carthage must be destroyed!" It was he who precipitated the third Carthaginian War which eliminated the greatest external threat to the Republic.

Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus are also included. The first, who fought in Carthage and in Spain, later introduced long-needed reforms and redistributed public lands which the rich had pre-empted. His agrarian reform was fiercely fought by the Senate and he was accused of seeking absolute power. His younger brother, Caius, also contested the power of the Senate, enforced the agrarian reform law, relieved the destitution of the people and introduced laws protecting the rights of Roman citizens. Such programs, though well conceived and much needed, are ominous beginnings of a pattern which gave dictatorial power to men who were strong enough to promise reforms.

Included also are the lives of Marius and Sulla, great generals who, after winning victories for the Republic both in the East and North,

enflamed a civil war which almost destroyed it. Sulla, whose butcheries rivaled those of Nero, was a senatorial favorite, whereas Marius was a friend of the people.

The remaining three lives herald the coming of the Roman Empire by the alliance of Crassus, Julius Caesar and Antony in the wars and intrigues that expanded not only the state's power but also their own. Crassus, a man of vast wealth and much charm, was first a partisan of Sulla and then an ally of Caesar. Crassus defeated the slave rebellion of Spartacus, an escaped gladiator, who up to the battle of Lucania had fought Roman armies to a standstill. As for Julius Caesar and Antony, their lives are already familiar to us from two of Shakespeare's plays.

### THE CHARM AND SUBSTANCE OF PLUTARCH

"Bear in mind," Plutarch wrote, "that my purpose is to write *lives*, not history. The most glorious exploits do not always give the clearest views of virtues and vice in men; sometimes a more trifling happening, a mere jest, informs us better about a man's character than the report of the bloodiest battle he ever won.

"Portrait painters are more exact in showing the lines and features of the face, in which the character is seen. And in the same way I give more attention to the personal words and acts that reveal the souls of men. . . .

"My original purpose in writing lives of the great was to teach others, but I found more and more that I am the one who gets the most profit from lodging these men one after the other in my house.

"The virtues of these great men serve me as a sort of looking glass; in it I may see how to adjust and adorn my own life. Though daily living and associating with them I perceive all their qualities and select all that are the noblest and worthiest."

How well Plutarch succeeded in his stated purpose can be judged by the long popularity of the *Lives*, the admiration expressed by eminent men through the centuries and, best of all, by reading the book itself.

Besides the *Lives*, Plutarch wrote many essays and letters on ethical and historical subjects, called *Opera Moralia*, but here as always he wears his immense learning lightly. He did not follow any school of philosophy closely. Plutarch's belief in the existence of demons midway between gods and men, whose lives they influence, gives a titanic quality to the heroic struggles he depicts.

Montaigne's comparison of Plutarch with Seneca is justly famous. Seneca, he says, "strives to arm virtue against weakness, fear and vicious appetites," whereas Plutarch "appears to regard them as less formidable, and disdains to quicken his pace and stand guard against them. Plutarch's opinions are Platonic, moderate and accommodated to polite society. (He) satisfies you more and pays better. He guides! the other drives."

### PLUTARCH'S ANECDOTES

THE GREAT BIOGRAPHER HAS BEEN CRITICIZED for his use of anecdotes, for though they are entertaining, not all of them are substantiated or even credible. But, as Montaigne says in his defense, Plutarch usually protects himself by some such phrase as "so the story goes." At one point Plutarch has Pyrrhus cut an enemy in two with one stroke of his sword, from the head down, but such exaggerations are rare. More typical is the anecdote he tells of Rusticus: "Once when I was lecturing in Rome," Plutarch says, "Rusticus, whom Domitian afterwards, out of jealousy of his reputation, put to death, was one of my hearers; and while I was going on, a soldier came in and brought him a letter from the Emperor. And when everyone fell silent, and I stopped in order to let him read the letter, he declined to do so, and put it aside until I had finished and the audience withdrew; an example of serious and dignified behavior which excited my admiration."

### PLUTARCH'S FAME

We have already seen how much Plutarch meant to Montaigne and Shakespeare. It is said that Racine and Corneille, the great French tragedians, took as much from the *Lives* as the Greek tragedians took from Homer. Rabelais, who taught himself Greek, also delighted in Plutarch.

Amyot's fine translation of the *Lives* was available to the common people as well as to scholars, and Plutarch's republican spirit made a deep impression on the leaders of the French Revolution. Rousseau says of the *Lives* that he "knew them off by heart" at the age of eight. Plutarch strengthened his belief that the innate goodness of man would declare itself if institutions could be reformed.

The main reason for Plutarch's popularity has been well stated by Emerson:

"The range of the mind makes the glad writer. The reason for

Plutarch's popularity is his humanity. A man of society, of affairs; upright, practical; a good son, husband, father, friend—he has a taste for common life, and knows the court, the camp and the judgment hall, but also the forge, farm, kitchen and cellar, and every utensil and use, and with a wise man's or a poet's eye. . . . I admire his rapid and crowded style, as if he had such a store of anecdotes of his heroes that he is forced to suppress more than he recounts, in order to keep up with hasting history."





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## MARCUS PORCIUS CATO (234–149 B.C.)

### *A Comment on CATO*

*[During the 2nd century B.C. Rome was going through a transition something like that which the United States has experienced during the past century. What had been a small nation of sturdy, independent citizen-farmers characterized by simple, homely virtues was evolving into a great power with widespread military and economic interests. In consequence the old-fashioned Roman moral pattern was challenged and modified by the commercial ethics of city-dwelling adventurers, and social manners became infiltrated with luxurious innovations imported from the sophisticated East.*

*In this age of transition Cato stands out as a hard rock of Roman conservatism, illustrating both the strength and the narrowness of the old-fashioned Roman type—stern sense of duty, proud courage, puritanical morality (streaked sometimes with strange deviations), hard-boiled practicality. Therefore Cato can be regarded as a sample and type of the solid foundation upon which the greatness of Rome was built.]*

MARCUS CATO, we are told, was born at Tusculum, and was bred up in the country of the Sabines, where his father's estate lay. He was of a ruddy complexion and grey-eyed.

He gained, in early life, a good habit of body by working with his own hands, and living temperately, and serving in war; and seemed to have an equal proportion both of health and strength. And he exerted

and practiced his eloquence through all the neighborhood and little villages; thinking it an all but necessary organ to one who looks forward to something above a mere humble and inactive life. He would never refuse to be counsel for those who needed him, and was, indeed, early reckoned a good lawyer, and, ere long, a capable orator.

Hence his solidity and depth of character showed itself gradually more and more to those with whom he was concerned, and claimed, as it were, employment in great affairs and places of public command. Nor did he merely abstain from taking fees for his counsel and pleading, but did not even seem to put any high price on the honor which proceeded from such kind of combats, seeming much more desirous to signalize himself in the camp and in real fights.

While yet but a youth, his breast was covered with scars he had received from the enemy. He was but seventeen years old when he made his first campaign; in the time when Hannibal, in the height of his success, was burning and pillaging all Italy. In engagements he would strike boldly, without flinching, stand firm to his ground, fix a bold countenance upon his enemies, and with a harsh threatening voice accost them, justly thinking himself and telling others that such a rugged kind of behavior sometimes terrifies the enemy more than the sword itself. In his marches he bore his own arms on foot, while one servant only followed, to carry the provision for his table. When he was with the army, he used to drink only water; unless, perhaps, when extremely thirsty, he might mingle it with a little vinegar, or if he found his strength fail him, take a little wine.

When Fabius Maximus took Tarentum, Cato, being then but a youth, was a soldier under him; and being lodged with one Nearchus, a Pythagorean, desired to understand some of his doctrine, and hearing from him the language, which Plato also uses—that pleasure is evil's chief bait; the body the principal calamity of the soul; and that those thoughts which most separate and take it off from the affections of the body most enfranchise and purify it—he fell in love the more with frugality and temperance. With this exception, he is said not to have studied Greek until when he was pretty old.

There was a man of the highest rank, and very influential among the Romans, called Valerius Flaccus, who was singularly skillful in discerning excellence yet in the bud, and also much disposed to nourish and advance it. He, it seems, had lands bordering upon Cato's; nor could he but admire when he understood from his servants the manner of his living, how he labored with his own hands, went on

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

foot betimes in the morning to the courts to assist those who wanted his counsel: how, returning home again, when it was winter, he would throw a loose frock over his shoulders, and in the summer time would work without anything on among his domestics, sit down with them, eat of the same bread, and drink of the same wine.

When they spoke, also, of other good qualities, his fair dealing and moderation, mentioning also some of his wise sayings, he ordered that Cato should be invited to supper; and thus becoming personally assured of his fine temper and his superior character, which, like a plant, seemed only to require culture and a better situation, he urged and persuaded him to apply himself to state affairs at Rome.

Thither, therefore, he went, and by his pleading soon gained many friends and admirers; but, Valerius chiefly assisting his promotion, he first of all got appointed tribune in the army, and afterwards was made quæstor, or treasurer.

Cato grew more and more powerful by his eloquence, so that he was commonly called the Roman Demosthenes; but his manner of life was yet more famous and talked of. For oratorical skill was commonly studied and sought after by all young men; but he was very rare who would cultivate the old habits of bodily labor, or prefer a light supper, and a breakfast which never saw the fire, or be in love with poor clothes and a homely lodging, or could set his ambition rather on doing without luxuries than on possessing them. For now the state, unable to keep its purity by reason of its greatness, and having so many affairs, and people from all parts under its government, was fain to admit many mixed customers and new examples of living.

With reason, therefore, everybody admired Cato, when they saw others sink under labors and grow effeminate by pleasures; and yet beheld him unconquered by either. He himself says that he never wore a suit of clothes which cost more than a hundred drachmas; and that, when he was general and consul, he drank the same wine which his workmen did; and that the meat or fish which was bought in the meat-market for his dinner did not cost above thirty *asses*. All which was for the sake of the commonwealth, that so his body might be the hardier for the war.

Having a piece of embroidered Babylonian tapestry left him, he sold it; because none of his farmhouses were so much as plastered. Nor did he ever buy a slave for above fifteen hundred drachmas; as he did not seek for effeminate and handsome ones, but able sturdy workmen, horse-keepers and cow-herds: and these he thought ought

to be sold again, when they grew old, and no useless servants fed in the house. In short, he reckoned nothing a good bargain which was superfluous.

Some imputed these things to petty avarice, but others approved of him, as if he had only the more strictly denied himself for the rectifying and amending of others. Yet certainly, in my judgment, it marks an over-rigid temper for a man to take the work out of his servants as out of brute beasts, turning them off and selling them in their old age, and thinking there ought to be no further commerce between man and man than while there arises some profit by it. Nor are we to use living creatures like old shoes or dishes and throw them away when they are worn out or broken with service. As to myself, I would not so much as sell my draught ox on the account of his age, much less for a small piece of money sell a poor old man, and so chase him, as it were, from his own country, by turning him not only out of the place where he has lived a long while, but also out of the manner of living he has been accustomed to, and that more especially when he would be as useless to the buyer as to the seller. Yet Cato glories that he left that very horse in Spain which he used in the wars when he was consul, only because he would not put the public to the charge of his freight. Whether these acts are to be ascribed to the greatness or pettiness of his spirit, let everyone argue as they please.

For his general temperance, however, and self-control he really deserves the highest admiration. For when he commanded the army, he never took for himself, and those that belonged to him, above three bushels of wheat for a month, and somewhat less than a bushel and a half a day of barley for his baggage-cattle. And when he entered upon the government of Sardinia, where his predecessors had been used to require tents, bedding and clothes upon the public account, and to charge the state heavily with the cost of provisions and entertainments for a great train of servants and friends, the difference he showed in his economy was something incredible.

Once, wishing to dissuade the common people of Rome from their unseasonable and impetuous clamor for largesses and distributions of grain, he began thus to harangue them: "It is a difficult task, citizens, to make speeches to the belly, which has no ears." Reproving, also, their sumptuous habits, he said it was hard to preserve a city where a fish sold for more than an ox.

Pointing at one who had sold the land which his father had left him, which lay near the seaside, he pretended to express his wonder at his

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being stronger even than the sea itself; for what it washed away with a great deal of labor, he with a great deal of ease drank away.

He used to assert, also, that wise men profited more by fools, than fools by wise men; for that wise men avoided the faults of fools, but that fools would not imitate the good examples of wise men.

Being reviled by a fellow who lived a profligate and wicked life: "A contest," replied he, "is unequal between you and me: for you can hear ill words easily, and can as easily give them: but it is unpleasant to me to give such, and unusual to hear them." Such was his manner of expressing himself in his memorable sayings.

Being chosen consul with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of Hither Spain fell to his lot. Here, as he was engaged in reducing some of the tribes by force, and bringing over others by good words, a large army of barbarians fell upon him, so that there was danger of being disgracefully forced out again. He therefore called upon his neighbors, the Celtiberians, for help; and on their demanding two hundred talents for their assistance, everybody else thought it intolerable that even the Romans should promise barbarians a reward for their aid; but Cato said there was no discredit or harm in it; for, if they overcame, they would pay them out of the enemy's purse, and not out of their own; but if they were overcome, there would be nobody left either to demand the reward or to pay it. However, he won that battle completely, and, after that, all his other affairs succeeded splendidly.

Polybius says that, by his command, the walls of all the cities on this side the river Bætis [*the Guadalquivir*] were in one day's time demolished. Cato himself says that he took more cities than he stayed days in Spain. Neither is this a mere rodomontade, if it be true that the number was four hundred. And though the soldiers themselves had got much in the fights, yet he distributed a pound of silver to every man of them, saying, it was better that many of the Romans should return home with silver, rather than a few with gold. For himself, he affirms, that of all the things that were taken, nothing came to him beyond what he ate and drank.

He accompanied and assisted Tiberius Sempronius, as his lieutenant, when he went into Thrace and to the Danube; and, in the quality of tribune, went with Manius Acilius into Greece, against Antiochus the Great, who, after Hannibal, more than anyone struck terror into the Romans. For having reduced once more under a single command almost the whole of Asia, and having brought into obedience many

*Translated by John Dryden*

warlike nations of the barbarians, he longed to fall upon the Romans, as if they only were now worthy to fight with him. So across he came with his forces, pretending, as a specious cause of the war, that it was to free the Greeks, who had indeed no need of it, they having been but newly delivered from the power of king Philip and the Macedonians, and made independent, with the free use of their own laws, by the goodness of the Romans themselves: so that all Greece was in commotion and excitement, having been corrupted by the hopes of royal aid which the popular leaders in their cities put them into.

Manius, therefore, sent ambassadors to the different cities; and Titus Flaminius (as is written in the account of him) suppressed and quieted most of the attempts of the innovators, without any trouble. Cato brought over the Corinthians, those of Patræ and Ægium, and spent a good deal of time at Athens.

*[This was in 191 B.C., when Cato was forty-three.]*

Now Antiochus, having occupied with his army the narrow passages about Thermopylæ, and added palisades and walls to the natural fortifications of the place, sat down there, thinking he had done enough to divert the war; and the Romans, indeed, seemed wholly to despair of forcing the passage; but Cato, calling to mind the compass and circuit which the Persians had formerly made to come at this place, went forth in the night, taking along with him part of the army. While they were climbing up, the guide missed the way, and wandering up and down by impracticable and precipitous paths, filled the soldiers with fear and despondency.

Cato, perceiving the danger, commanded all the rest to halt, and stay where they were, while he himself, taking along with him one Lucius Manlius, a most expert man at climbing mountains, went forward with a great deal of labor and danger, in the dark night, and without the least moonlight, among the wild olive-trees and steep craggy rocks, there being nothing but precipices and darkness before their eyes, till they struck into a little pass which they thought might lead down into the enemy's camp. There they put up marks upon some conspicuous peaks and, returning again, they led the army along with them to the said marks, till they got into their little path again, and there once made a halt.

And now the day began to give some light, when they seemed to hear a noise, and presently after to see the Greek trenches and the guard at the foot of the rock. Here, therefore, Cato halted his forces,

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and commanded the troops from Firmum only, without the rest, to stick by him, as he had always found them faithful and ready. And when they came up and formed around him in close order, he thus spoke to them: "I desire," he said, "to take one of the enemy alive, that so I may understand what men these are who guard the passage." The Firmans forthwith rushed down the mountain, just as they were, upon the guard, and, falling unexpectedly upon them, affrighted and dispersed them all. One armed man they took, and brought to Cato, who quickly learned from him that the rest of the forces lay in the narrow passage about the king; that those who kept the tops of the rocks were six hundred choice Ætolians. Cato, therefore, despising the smallness of their number and carelessness, forthwith drawing his sword, fell upon them with a great noise of trumpets and shouting. The enemy, perceiving them thus tumbling, as it were, upon them from the precipices, flew to the main body, and put all things into disorder there.

In the meantime, while Manlius was forcing the works below, and pouring the thickest of his forces into the narrow passages, Antiochus was hit in the mouth with a stone, so that his teeth being beaten out by it, he felt such excessive pain, that he was fain to turn away with his horse; nor did any part of his army stand the shock of the Romans.

Cato was never oversparing of his own praises. With these particular exploits he was highly puffed up. He says that those who saw him that day pursuing and slaying the enemies were ready to assert that Cato owed not so much to the public as the public did to Cato.

After the fight he was sent to Rome, that he himself might be the messenger of it: and so, with a favorable wind, he sailed to Brundisium, and in one day got from thence to Tarentum; and having traveled four days more, upon the fifth, counting from the time of his landing, he arrived at Rome, and so brought the first news of the victory himself; and filled the whole city with joy and sacrifices, and the people with the belief that they were able to conquer every sea and every land.

Ten years after his consulship (in 184 B.C.) Cato stood for the office of censor, which was indeed the summit of all honor, and in a manner the highest step in civil affairs; for besides all other power, it had also that of an inquisition into everyone's life and manners. For the Romans thought that no marriage, or rearing of children, nay, no feast or drinking-bout, ought to be permitted according to everyone's appetite or fancy, without being examined and inquired into; being in-



deed of opinion that a man's character was much sooner perceived in things of this sort than in what is done publicly and in open day. They chose, therefore, two persons, one out of the patricians, the other out of the commons, who were to watch, correct, and punish, if anyone ran too much into voluptuousness, or transgressed the usual manner of life of his country; and these they called Censors. They had power to take away the rank of knight [*equites*], or expel out of the senate anyone who lived intemperately and out of order. It was also their business to take an estimate of what everyone was worth, and to put down in registers everybody's birth and quality; besides many other prerogatives. And therefore the chief nobility opposed Cato's pretensions.

Jealousy prompted the patricians, who thought that it would be a stain to everybody's nobility, if men of no original honor should rise to the highest dignity and power. Others, conscious of their own evil practices, and of the violation of the laws and customs of their country, were afraid of the austerity of the man; which, in an office of such great power, was likely to prove most uncompromising and severe. And so, consulting among themselves, they brought forward seven candidates in opposition to him, who sedulously set themselves to court the people's favor by fair promises, as though what they wished for was indulgent and easy government.

Cato, on the contrary, promising no such mildness, but plainly threatening evil livers, from the very hustings openly declared himself, and exclaiming that the city needed a great and thorough purgation, called upon the people, if they were wise, not to choose the gentlest, but the roughest of physicians. The Roman people, not fearing the severity and grim countenance of Cato, but rejecting those smooth promisers who were ready to do all things to ingratiate themselves, took him, together with Flaccus.

Cato named, as chief of the senate, his friend and colleague, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and expelled, among many others, Lucius Quintus, who had been consul seven years before. The reason he had for his expulsion was this. Lucius, it seems, took along with him in all his commands a youth whom he had kept as his companion from the flower of his age, and to whom he gave as much power and respect as to the chiefest of his friends and relations.

Manlius, also, who, according to the public expectation, would have been next consul, he threw out of the senate, because, in the presence of his daughter, and in open day, he had kissed his wife. Cato

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said that, as for himself, his wife never came into his arms except when there was great thunder; so that it was for jest with him, that it was a pleasure for him, when Jupiter thundered.

He gave most general annoyance by retrenching people's luxury; for though it seemed almost impossible to take it away directly, yet going obliquely around, he caused all dress, carriages, women's ornaments, household furniture, whose price exceeded one thousand, five hundred drachmas, to be rated at ten times as much as they were worth; intending thus to increase the taxes paid upon them. He also ordained that upon every thousand *asses* of property of this kind, three should be paid, so that people might be tried out of their prodigality. Not only those were disgusted at Cato who bore the taxes for the sake of their luxury, but those, too, who on the other side laid by their luxury for fear of the taxes.

Cato, notwithstanding those who exclaimed against him, increased his austerity. He caused the pipes, through which some persons brought the public water into their houses and gardens, to be cut, and threw down all buildings which jutted out into the common streets. He beat down also the price in contracts for public works to the lowest, and raised it in contracts for farming the taxes to the highest sum; by which proceedings he drew a great deal of hatred upon himself.

Those who were of Titus Flaminius's party canceled in the senate all the bargains and contracts made by him for the repairing and carrying on of the sacred and public buildings as unadvantageous to the commonwealth. They incited also the boldest of the tribunes of the people to accuse him and to fine him two talents. They likewise much opposed him in building the court or basilica, which he caused to be erected at the common charge, just by the senate-house, in the market-place, and called by his own name, the Porcian.

However, the people, it seems, liked his censorship wondrously well; for, setting up a statue of him in the temple of the goddess of Health, they put an inscription under it, not recording his commands in war or his triumph, but to the effect that this was Cato the Censor, who, by his good discipline and wise and temperate ordinances, reclaimed the Roman commonwealth when it was declining and sinking down into vice.

He was also a good father, an excellent husband to his wife, and an extraordinary economist. He married a wife more noble than rich; being of opinion that the rich and the high-born are equally haughty and proud; but that those of noble blood would be more ashamed of base

things, and consequently more obedient to their husbands in all that was fit and right. A man who beat his wife or child laid violent hands, he said, on what was most sacred; and a good husband he reckoned worthy of more praise than a great senator.

As soon as he had a son born, though he had never such urgent business upon his hands, unless it were some public matter, he would be by when his wife washed it and dressed it in its swaddling clothes. For she herself suckled it, nay, she often too gave her breast to her servants' children, to produce, by suckling the same milk, a kind of natural love in them to her son. When he began to come to years of discretion, Cato himself would teach him to read, although he had a servant, a very good grammarian, called Chilo, who taught many others; but he thought not fit, as he himself said, to have his son reprimanded by a slave, or pulled, it may be, by the ears when found tardy in his lesson.

Nor did he only show him, too, how to throw a dart, to fight in armor, and to ride, but to box also and to endure both heat and cold, and to swim over the most rapid and rough rivers. He says, likewise, that he wrote histories in large characters, with his own hand, so that his son, without stirring out of the house, might learn to know about his countrymen and forefathers.

Nor did he less abstain from speaking anything obscene before his son, than if it had been in the presence of the sacred virgins, called vestals. Nor would he ever go into the bath with him; which seems indeed to have been the common custom of the Romans. Sons-in-law used to avoid bathing with fathers-in-law, disliking to see one another naked; but having, in time, learned of the Greeks to strip before men, they have since taught the Greeks to do it even with the women themselves.

He purchased a great many slaves out of the captives taken in war, but chiefly brought up the young ones, who were capable to be broken and taught like whelps and colts. When a servant was at home, he was obliged either to do some work or sleep, for indeed Cato loved those most who used to lie down often to sleep, accounting them more docile than those who were wakeful, and more fit for anything when they were refreshed with a little slumber. Being also of opinion that the great cause of the laziness and misbehavior of slaves was their running after their pleasures, he fixed a certain price for them to pay for permission amongst themselves, but would suffer no connections out of the house.

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At first, when he was but a poor soldier, he would not be difficult in anything which related to his eating, but looked upon it as a pitiful thing to quarrel with a servant for the belly's sake; but afterwards, when he grew richer, and made any feasts for his friends and colleagues in office, as soon as supper was over he used to go with a leather thong and scourge those who had waited or dressed the meat carelessly. He always contrived, too, that his servants should have some difference one among another, always suspecting and fearing a good understanding between them. Those who had committed anything worthy of death, he punished if they were found guilty by the verdict of their fellow-servants.

But being after all much given to the desire of gain, he looked upon agriculture rather as a pleasure than profit; resolving, therefore, to lay out his money in safe and solid things, he purchased ponds, hot baths, grounds full of fuller's earth, remunerative lands, pastures, and woods; from all which he drew large returns, nor could Jupiter himself, he used to say, do him much damage. He was also given to the form of usury, which is considered most odious, in traffic by sea; and that thus:—he desired that those whom he put out his money to should have many partners; when the number of them and their ships came to be fifty, he himself took one share through Quintio his freedman, who therefore was to sail with the adventurers, and take a part in all their proceedings, so that thus there was no danger of losing his whole stock, but only a little part, and that with a prospect of great profit.

He likewise lent money to those of his slaves who wished to borrow, with which they bought also other young ones, whom, when they had taught and bred up at his charges, they would sell again at the year's end.

He was now grown old, when Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic, came as deputies from Athens to Rome, praying for release from a penalty of five hundred talents laid on the Athenians, in a suit, to which they did not appear, in which the Oropians were plaintiffs and Sicyonians judges. All the most studious youth immediately waited on these philosophers, and frequently, with admiration, heard them speak. The gracefulness of Carneades's oratory, whose ability was really greatest, and his reputation equal to it, gathered large and favorable audiences, and ere long filled, like a wind, all the city with the sound of it.

And when the fame of the philosophers increased in the city, and Caius Acilius, a person of distinction, at his own request, became their

interpreter to the senate at their first audience, Cato resolved, under some specious pretense, to have all philosophers cleared out of the city; and, coming into the senate, blamed the magistrates for letting these deputies stay so long a time without being despatched, though they were persons that could easily persuade the people to what they pleased; that therefore in all haste something should be determined about their petition, that so they might go home again to their own schools, and declaim to the Greek children, and leave the Roman youth to be obedient, as hitherto, to their own laws and governors.

Yet he did this not out of any anger to Carneades; but because he wholly despised philosophy, and scoffed at the Greek studies and literature. To frighten his son from anything that was Greek, he pronounced, as it were, with the voice of an oracle, that the Romans would certainly be destroyed when they began once to be infected with Greek literature; though time indeed has shown the vanity of this his prophecy; as, in truth, the city of Rome has risen to his highest fortune while entertaining Grecian learning. Nor had he an aversion only against the Greek philosophers, but the physicians also.

He himself had written a little book of prescriptions for curing those who were sick in his family; he never enjoined fasting to anyone, but ordered them either vegetables, or the meat of a duck, pigeon, or leveret; such kind of diet being of light digestion and fit for sick folks, only it made those who ate it dream a little too much; and by the use of this kind of physic, he said, he not only made himself and those about him well, but kept them so.

However, for this his presumption he seemed not to have escaped unpunished; for he lost both his wife and his son; though he himself, being of a strong, robust constitution, held out longer. He would often, even in his old days, address himself to women, and when he was past a lover's age, married a young woman. Having lost his own wife; he married his son to the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, who was sister to Scipio; so that being now a widower himself, he had a young girl who came privately to visit him, but the house being very small, and a daughter-in-law also in it, this practice was quickly discovered; for the young woman seeming once to pass through it a little too boldly, the youth, his son, though he said nothing, seemed to look somewhat indignantly upon her.

The old man perceiving that what he did was disliked, without finding any fault or saying a word, went away, as his custom was, with his usual companions to the market: and among the rest, he called aloud

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to one Saloni<sup>us</sup>, who had been a clerk under him, and asked him whether he had married his daughter? He answered no, nor would he, till he had consulted him. Said Cato, "Then I have found out a fit son-in-law for you, if he should not displease by reason of his age."

Saloni<sup>us</sup> desired him to undertake the business, and to give the young girl to whom he pleased. Upon this Cato, without any more ado, told him he desired to have the damsel himself. These words, as may well be imagined, at first astonished the man; but perceiving him in earnest, he consented willingly; and going onwards to the forum, they quickly completed the bargain.

Cato composed various books and histories; and addicted himself to agriculture for profit's sake. He wrote one book on country matters, in which he treated particularly even of making cakes and preserving fruit; it being his ambition to be curious and singular in all things. His suppers, at his country house, used also to be plentiful; he daily invited his friends and neighbors about him, and passed the time merrily with them. He looked upon a good table as the best place for making friends.

Some will have the overthrow of Carthage to have been one of his last acts of state; when, indeed, Scipio the younger did by his valor give it the last blow, but the war, chiefly by the counsel and advice of Cato, was undertaken on the following occasion. Cato was sent to the Carthaginians and Masinissa, King of Numidia, who were at war with one another, to know the cause of their difference.

Finding Carthage, not (as the Romans thought) low and in an ill condition, but well manned, full of riches and all sorts of arms and ammunition, and perceiving the Carthaginians carry it high, he conceived that it was not a time for the Romans to adjust affairs between them and Masinissa; but rather that they themselves would fall into danger, unless they should find means to check this rapid new growth of Rome's ancient irreconcilable enemy. Therefore, returning quickly to Rome, he acquainted the senate that the former defeats and blows given to the Carthaginians had not so much diminished their strength, as it had abated their imprudence and folly; that they were not become weaker, but more experienced in war, and did only skirmish with the Numidians to exercise themselves the better to cope with the Romans: that the peace and league they had made was but a kind of suspension of war which awaited a fairer opportunity to break out again.

Moreover, they say that, shaking his gown, he took occasion to let drop some African figs before the senate. And on their admiring the

*Translated by John Dryden*

size and beauty of them, he presently added, that the place that bore them was but three days' sail from Rome. Nay, he never after this gave his opinion, but at the end he would be sure to come out with this sentence, "ALSO, CARTHAGE OUGHT UTTERLY TO BE DESTROYED."

Thus Cato, they say, stirred up the third and last war against the Carthaginians: but no sooner was the said war begun, than he died.

## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

### *A Comment on* THE GRACCHI

*[As expanding conquests made Rome richer and more powerful, some Romans became very rich indeed; but the mass of the people found themselves burdened by the usual post-war troubles of inflation, higher prices, and heavier taxes. The old-fashioned citizen-farmer could not compete with mass-production farms manned by cheap slave labor.*

*These economic tensions were reflected in political conflict between the people and the privileged classes; especially bitter was the struggle over agrarian reforms proposed by two brothers, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, aristocratic by origin, democratic in sympathy. There is a certain parallel between their careers and those of two American cousins of an upper-bracket family: Theodore Roosevelt with his Square Deal and Franklin Roosevelt with his New Deal. But the way the old Romans played politics was rougher and tougher than the American way.]*

### *Tiberius Gracchus (c. 163–133 B.C.)*

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who though he had been once censor, twice consul, and twice had triumphed, yet was more renowned and esteemed for his virtue than his honors. Cornelia—daughter of the great Scipio who had defeated the Carthaginian Hannibal—was left a widow with twelve children. Taking upon herself all the care of the household and the education of her children, she proved herself so discreet a matron, so affectionate a

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mother, and so constant and noble-spirited a widow, that King Ptolemy himself proffered her his crown, and would have married her, but she refused it, and chose rather to live a widow. In this state she continued, and lost all her children, except one daughter and two sons, Tiberius and Caius.

These she brought up with such care that though they were without dispute in natural endowments and dispositions the first among the Romans of their time, yet they seemed to owe their virtues even more to their education than to their birth. Between these two noble youths, though there was a strong general likeness in their common love of fortitude and temperance, in their liberality, their eloquence, and their greatness of mind, yet in their actions and administrations of public affairs, a considerable variation showed itself.

Tiberius, in the form and expression of his countenance, and in his gesture and motion, was gentle and composed; but Caius, earnest and vehement. And so in their public speeches to the people, the one spoke in a quiet, orderly manner, standing throughout on the same spot; the other would walk about on the hustings, and in the heat of his orations pull his gown off his shoulders, and was the first of all the Romans that used such gestures. So likewise in their way of living and at their tables, Tiberius was frugal and plain, Caius, compared with other men, temperate and even austere, but contrasting with his brother in a fondness for new fashions and rarities, as appears in Drusus's charge against him, that he had bought some silver dolphins, to the value of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas for every pound weight.

The same difference that appeared in their diction was observable also in their tempers. The one was mild and reasonable, the other rough and passionate, and to that degree, that often, in the midst of speaking, he was so hurried away by his passion against his judgment, that his voice lost its tone, and he began to pass into mere abusive talking.

Tiberius was the elder by nine years; owing to which their actions as public men were divided by the difference of the times in which those of the one and those of the other were performed.

Tiberius, immediately on his attaining manhood, had such a reputation that he was admitted into the college of the augurs, and that in consideration more of his early virtue than of his noble birth. This appeared by what Appius Claudius did, who, though he had been consul and censor, and was now the head of the Roman senate, and had the highest sense of his own place and merit, at a public feast of the



augurs, addressed himself openly to Tiberius, and with great expressions of kindness, offered him his daughter in marriage.

This young Tiberius, serving in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister, and living there under the same tent with him, soon learned to estimate the noble spirit of his commander, which was so fit to inspire strong feelings of emulation in virtue and desire to prove merit in action, and in a short time he excelled all the young men of the army in obedience and courage; and he was the first that mounted the enemy's wall. He was regarded, while he continued with the army, with great affection; and left behind him on his departure a strong desire for his return.

After that expedition, being chosen paymaster, it was his fortune to serve in the war against the Numantines, under the command of Caius Mancinus, the consul, a person of no bad character, but the most unfortunate of all the Roman generals.

*[During this campaign in northern Spain Mancinus blundered in getting his force of twenty thousand soldiers surrounded by the Numantines. When he sued for a truce, the Numantines insisted on negotiating it through the young Tiberius Gracchus, because of his own reputation and that of his father, who had treated the Numantines honorably.]*

When he returned to Rome, he found the whole transaction censured and reproached, as a proceeding that was base and scandalous to the Romans. But the relations and friends of the soldiers, forming a large body among the people, came flocking to Tiberius, whom they acknowledged as the preserver of so many citizens, imputing to the general all the miscarriages which had happened.

Of the land which the Romans gained by conquest from their neighbors, part they sold publicly, and turned the remainder into common. This common land they assigned to such of the citizens as were poor and indigent, for which they were to pay only a small acknowledgment into the public treasury. But when the wealthy men began to offer larger rents, and drive the poorer people out, it was enacted by law that no person whatever should enjoy more than five hundred acres of ground. This act for some time checked the avarice of the richer, and was of great assistance to the poorer people, who retained under it their respective proportions of ground, as they had been formerly rented by them.

Afterwards the rich men of the neighborhood contrived to get these

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lands again into their possession, under other people's names, and at last would not stick to claim most of them publicly in their own. The poor, who were thus deprived of their farms, were no longer either ready, as they had formerly been, to serve in war or careful in the education of their children; insomuch that in a short time there were comparatively few freemen remaining in all Italy, which swarmed with workhouses full of foreign-born slaves. These the rich men employed in cultivating their ground of which they dispossessed the citizens.

But Tiberius, being elected tribune of the people, entered upon that design without delay, at the instigation, as is most commonly stated, of Diophanes, the rhetorician, and Blossius, the philosopher. Diophanes was a refugee from Mitylene, the other was an Italian, of the city of Cuma, and was educated there under Antipater of Tarsus, who afterwards did him the honor to dedicate some of his philosophical lectures to him.

*[Such use of scholars and teachers to shape legislation suggests Franklin Roosevelt's "brain trust." Note also "un-Roman" influences: a Greek "refugee from Mitylene," and a Syrian pedagogue from Tarsus.]*

However, he did not draw up his law without the advice and assistance of those citizens that were then most eminent for their virtue and authority; amongst whom were Crassus, the high-priest, Mucius Scævola, the lawyer, who at that time was consul, and Claudius Appius, his father-in-law. Never did any law appear more moderate and gentle, especially being enacted against such great oppression and avarice. For they who ought to have been severely punished for transgressing the former laws, and should at least have lost all their titles to such lands which they had unjustly usurped, were notwithstanding to receive a price for quitting their unlawful claims, and giving up their lands to those fit owners who stood in need of help.

But though this reformation was managed with so much tenderness that, all the former transactions being passed over, the people were only thankful to prevent abuses of the like nature for the future, yet, on the other hand, the moneyed men, and those of great estates, were exasperated, through their covetous feelings against the law itself, and against the lawgiver, through anger and party-spirit. They therefore endeavored to seduce the people, declaring that Tiberius was designing a general redivision of lands, to overthrow the government, and put all things into confusion.

*Translated by John Dryden*

But they had no success. For Tiberius, maintaining an honorable and just cause, and possessed of eloquence sufficient to have made a less creditable action appear plausible, was no safe or easy antagonist, when, with the people crowding around the hustings, he took his place, and spoke in behalf of the poor. "The savage beasts," said he, "in Italy, have their particular dens, they have their places of repose and refuge; but the men who bear arms, and expose their lives for the safety of their country, enjoy in the meantime nothing more in it but the air and light; and, having no houses or settlements of their own, are constrained to wander from place to place with their wives and children." He told them that the commanders were guilty of a ridiculous error, when, at the head of their armies, they exhorted the common soldiers to fight for their sepulchers and altars; when not any amongst so many Romans is possessed of either altar or monument, neither have they any houses of their own, or hearths of their ancestors to defend. They fought indeed and were slain, but it was to maintain the luxury and the wealth of other men. They were styled the masters of the world, but in the meantime had not one foot of ground which they could call their own.

A harangue of this nature, spoken to an enthusiastic and sympathizing audience, by a person of commanding spirit and genuine feelings, no adversaries at that time were competent to oppose. Forbearing, therefore, all discussion and debate, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, his fellow-tribune, who being a young man of a steady, orderly character, and an intimate friend of Tiberius, upon this account declined at first the task of opposing him; but at length, overpersuaded with the repeated importunities of numerous considerable persons, he was prevailed upon to do so, and hindered the passing of the law; it being the rule that any tribune has a power to hinder an act, and that all the rest can effect nothing, if only one of them dissents.

Tiberius, irritated at these proceedings, presently laid aside this milder bill, but at the same time preferred another; which, as it was more grateful to the common people, so it was much more severe against the wrongdoers, commanding them to make an immediate surrender of all lands which, contrary to former laws, had come into their possession. Hence there arose daily contentions between him and Octavius in their orations.

*[Tiberius first sought to persuade Octavius to resign his power as tribune, then forced a vote to put him out of office.]*

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The law for his deprivation being thus voted, Tiberius ordered one of his servants, whom he had made a freeman, to remove Octavius from the rostra, employing his own domestic freed servants in the stead of the public officers. And it made the action seem all the sadder, that Octavius was dragged out in such an ignominious manner. The people immediately assaulted him, while the rich men ran in to his assistance. Octavius, with some difficulty, was snatched away and safely conveyed out of the crowd.

This being done, the law concerning the lands was ratified and confirmed, and three commissioners were appointed, to make a survey of the grounds, and see the same equally divided. These were Tiberius himself, Claudius Appius, his father-in-law, and his brother, Caius Gracchus, who at this time was not at Rome, but in the army under the command of Scipio Africanus before Numantia. These things were transacted by Tiberius without any disturbance, none daring to offer any resistance to him.

The great men of the city were therefore utterly offended, and, fearing lest he grow yet more popular, they took all opportunities of affronting him publicly in the senate house. For when he requested, as was usual, to have a tent provided at the public charge for his use, while dividing the lands, though it was a favor commonly granted to persons employed in business of much less importance, it was peremptorily refused to him; and the allowance made him for his daily expenses was fixed to nine obols only.

His friends, apprehending the dangers which seemed to threaten him, and the conspiracy that was gathering head against him, were of opinion that the safest way would be for him to petition that he might be continued tribune for the year ensuing. Upon this consideration he again endeavored to secure the people's good will with fresh laws, making the years of serving in the war fewer than formerly, granting liberty of appeal from the judges to the people, and joining to the senators, who were judges at that time, an equal number of citizens of the knight's degree, endeavoring as much as in him lay to lessen the power of the senate.

Tiberius then went down into the market-place amongst the people, and made his addresses to them humbly and with tears in his eyes; and told them he had just reason to suspect that his adversaries would attempt in the night-time to break open his house and murder him. This worked so strongly with the multitude, that several of them pitched tents round about his house, and kept guard all night for the security

of his person. By break of day came one of the soothsayers, who prognosticate good or bad success by the pecking of fowls, and threw them something to eat. The soothsayer used his utmost endeavors to fright the fowls out of their coop; but none of them except one would venture out, which fluttered with its left wing, and stretched out its leg, and ran back again into the coop, without eating anything.

In spite of this evil omen, Tiberius went towards the capitol as soon as he understood that the people were assembled there. He was not gone very far before he saw two ravens fighting on the top of a house which stood on his left hand as he passed along; and though he was surrounded with a number of people, a stone struck from its place by one of the ravens, fell just at his foot. This even the boldest men about him felt as a check.

*[It may seem odd to modern readers that otherwise sensible Romans had a superstitious reverence for omens and portents manifested by birds and beasts but perhaps no odder than our generation's reverence for pseudo-scientific nostrums.]*

The people welcomed him with loud acclamations, and as he went up to his place, they repeated their expressions of joy, and gathered in a body around him, so that no one who was not well known to be his friend might approach. Mucius then began to put the business again to the vote; but nothing could be performed in the usual course and order, because of the disturbance caused by those who were pushing on and trying to force their way in.

While things were in this confusion, Flavius Flaccus, a senator, standing in a place where he could be seen, but at such a distance from Tiberius that he could not make him hear, signified to him by motions of his hand, that he wished to impart something of consequence to him in private. Tiberius ordered the multitude to make way for him. Flavius got to him, and informed him that the rich men, in a sitting of the senate, seeing they could not prevail upon the consul to espouse their quarrel, had come to a final determination amongst themselves that he should be assassinated, and had a great number of their friends and servants ready armed to accomplish it.

Tiberius no sooner communicated this confederacy to those about him, but they immediately tucked up their gowns, broke the halberts which the officers used to keep the crowd off into pieces, and distributed them among themselves, resolving to resist the attack with these. Those who stood at a distance wondered, and asked what was the oc-

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casion; Tiberius, knowing that they could not hear him at that distance, lifted his hand to his head wishing to intimate the great danger which he apprehended himself to be in. His adversaries, taking notice of that action, ran off at once to the senate house, and declared that Tiberius desired the people to bestow a crown upon him, as if this were the meaning of his touching his head.

This news created general confusion in the senators, and Nasica at once called upon the consul to punish this tyrant, and defend the government. The consul mildly replied that he would not be the first to do any violence; and would not suffer any freeman to be put to death, before sentence had lawfully passed upon him. But Nasica, rising from his seat, "Since the consul," said he, "regards not the safety of the commonwealth, let everyone who will defend the laws, follow me." He then, casting the skirt of his gown over his head, hastened to the capitol; those who bore him company, wrapped their gowns also about their arms, and forced their way after him. And as they were persons of the greatest authority in the city, the common people did not venture to obstruct their passing, but were rather so eager to clear the way for them, that they tumbled over one another in haste. The attendants they brought with them had furnished themselves with clubs and staves from their houses, and they themselves picked up the feet and other fragments of stools and chairs, which were broken by the hasty flight of the common people.

Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius, knocking down those whom they found in front of him, and those were soon wholly dispersed and many of them slain. Tiberius tried to save himself by flight. As he was running, he was stopped by one who caught hold of him by the gown; but he threw it off, and fled in his under-garment only. And stumbling over those who before had been knocked down, as he was endeavoring to get up again, Publius Satureius, a tribune, one of his colleagues, was observed to give him the first fatal stroke, by hitting him upon the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was claimed, as though it had been a deed to be proud of, by Lucius Rufus. And of the rest there fell above three hundred killed by clubs and staves only, none by an iron weapon.

This, we are told, was the first sedition amongst the Romans, since the abrogation of kingly government, that ended in the effusion of blood. All former quarrels which were neither small nor about trivial matters, were always amicably composed, by mutual concessions on either side, the senate yielding for fear of the commons, and the com-

*Translated by John Dryden*

mons out of respect to the senate. And it is probable indeed that Tiberius himself might then have been easily induced, by mere persuasion, to give way, and certainly, if attacked at all, must have yielded without any recourse to violence and bloodshed, as he had not at that time above three thousand men to support him. But it is evident that this conspiracy was fomented against him, more out of the hatred and malice which the rich men had to his person, than for the reasons which they commonly pretended against him. In testimony of which, we may adduce the cruelty and unnatural insults which they used to his dead body. For they would not suffer his own brother, though he earnestly begged the favor, to bury him in the night, but threw him, together with the other corpses, into the river.

### *Caius Gracchus (c. 153–121 B.C.)*

**C**AIUS GRACCHUS at first, either for fear of his brother's enemies, or designing to render them more odious to the people, absented himself from the public assemblies, and lived quietly in his own house, as if he were not only reduced for the present to live unambitiously, but was disposed in general to pass his life in inaction. However, he was very young, being not so old as Tiberius by nine years; and he was not yet thirty when he was slain.

In some little time, however, he quietly let his temper appear, one of an utter antipathy to a lazy retirement, and not to be contented with a life of eating, drinking, and money-getting. He gave great pains to the study of eloquence, as wings upon which he might aspire to public business.

But soon after, it happened that he was elected quæstor, and obliged to attend Orestes, the consul, into Sardinia. This, as it pleased his enemies, so it was not ungrateful to him, being naturally of a warlike character, and as well trained in the art of war as in that of pleading. And, besides, as yet he very much dreaded meddling with state affairs, and appearing publicly in the rostra, which, because of the importunity of the people and his friends, he could not otherwise avoid than by taking this journey. He was therefore most thankful for the opportunity of absenting himself.

*[His political enemies tried to keep Caius in Sardinia longer than the normal term of duty.]*

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He, finding how things were carried, immediately in anger took ship for Rome, where his unexpected appearance obtained him the censure not only of his enemies, but also of the people; who thought it strange that a quæstor should leave before his commander. Nevertheless, when some accusation upon this ground was made against him to the censors, he desired leave to defend himself, and did it so effectually that, when he ended, he was regarded as one who had been very much injured. He made it then appear that he had served twelve years in the army, whereas others are obliged to serve only ten; that he had continued quæstor to the general three years, whereas he might by law have returned at the end of one year; and alone of all who went on the expedition, he had carried out a full and had brought home an empty purse, while others, after drinking up the wine they had carried out with them, brought back the wine-jars filled again with gold and silver from the war.

After this they brought other accusations and writs against him. But having cleared himself of every suspicion, and proved his entire innocence, he now at once came forward to ask for the tribuneship; in which, though he was universally opposed by all persons of distinction, yet there came such infinite numbers of people from all parts of Italy to vote for Caius, that lodgings for them could not be supplied in the city; and the Field being not large enough to contain the assembly, there were numbers who climbed upon the roofs and the tilings of the houses to use their voices in his favor.

When he came to the execution of his office, it was seen presently he was a better orator than any of his contemporaries, and the passion with which he still lamented his brother's death made him the bolder in speaking. He used on all occasions to remind the people of what had happened in that tumult.

Of the laws which he now proposed, with the object of gratifying the people and abridging the power of the senate, the first was concerning the public lands, which were to be divided amongst the poor citizens; another was concerning the common soldiers, that they should be clothed at the public charge, without any diminution of their pay, and that none should be obliged to serve in the army who was not full seventeen years old; another gave the same right to all the Italians in general, of voting at elections, as was enjoyed by the citizens of Rome; a fourth related to the price of corn, which was to be sold at a lower rate than formerly to the poor; and a fifth regulated the courts of justice, greatly reducing the power of the senators. For hitherto, in all causes,



senators only sat as judges, and were therefore much dreaded by the Roman knights and the people. But Caius joined three hundred ordinary citizens of equestrian rank with the senators, who were three hundred likewise in number, and ordained that the judicial authority should be equally invested in the six hundred.

While he was arguing for the ratification of this law, his behavior was observed to show in many respects unusual earnestness, and whereas other popular leaders had always hitherto, when speaking, turned their faces towards the senate house, he, on the contrary, was the first man that in his harangue to the people turned himself the other way, towards them, and continued after that time to do so. An insignificant movement and change of posture, yet it marked no small revolution in state affairs, the conversion, in a manner, of the whole government from an aristocracy to a democracy, his action intimating that public speakers should address themselves to the people, not the senate.

Besides all this, he proposed measures for the colonization of several cities, for making roads, and for building public granaries; of all which works he himself undertook the management and superintendence, and was never wanting to give necessary orders for the despatch of all these different and great undertakings; and that with such wonderful expedition and diligence, as if he had been but engaged upon one of them. All persons, even those who hated or feared him, stood amazed to see what a capacity he had for effecting and completing all he undertook. As for the people themselves, they were transported at the very sight, when they saw him surrounded with a crowd of contractors, artificers, public deputies, military officers, soldiers, and scholars. All these he treated with an easy familiarity, yet without abandoning his dignity in his gentleness.

His most especial exertions were given to constructing the roads, which he was careful to make beautiful and pleasant, as well as convenient. They were drawn by his directions through the fields, exactly in a straight line, partly paved with hewn stone, and partly laid with solid masses of gravel. When he met with any valleys or deep water-courses crossing the line, he either caused them to be filled up with rubbish, or bridges to be built over them, so well leveled that all being of an equal height on both sides, the work presented one uniform and beautiful prospect. Besides this, he caused the roads to be all divided into miles (each mile containing little less than eight furlongs), and erected pillars of stone to signify the distance from one place to an-

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other. He likewise placed other stones at small distances from one another, on both sides of the way, by the help of which travelers might get easily on horseback without needing a groom.

He proposed that a colony of Roman citizens might be sent to re-people Tarentum and Capua, and that the Latins should enjoy the same privileges with the citizens of Rome. But the senate, apprehending that he would at last grow too powerful and dangerous, took a new and unusual course to alienate the people's affections from him, by playing the demagogue in opposition to him, and offering favors contrary to all good policy. Livius Drusus was fellow-tribune with Caius, a person of as good a family and as well educated as any amongst the Romans. To him, therefore, the chief senators made their application, exhorting him to attack Caius, and join in their confederacy against him; which they designed to carry on, not by using any force, or opposing the common people, but by gratifying and obliging them.

Livius proceeded accordingly to bring forward such laws as were in reality neither honorable nor advantageous for the public; his whole design being to outdo Caius in pleasing and cajoling the populace (as if it had been in some comedy), with obsequious flattery and every kind of gratifications; the senate thus letting it be seen plainly that they were not angry with Caius's public measures, but only desirous to ruin him utterly, or at least to lessen his reputation.

*[While Caius was away from Rome for a couple of months, establishing a colony on the site of Cathage, his reputation suffered because of accusations against his "particular friend" Fulvius, "a man of turbulent spirit . . . an unsettled character . . . of a well-known seditious temper."]*

After his return to Rome, he quitted his house on the Palatine Mount, and went to live near the market-place, endeavoring to make himself more popular in those parts, where most of the humble and poorer citizens lived. He then brought forward the remainder of his proposed laws, as intending to have them ratified by the popular vote; to support which a vast number of people collected from all quarters. But the senate persuaded Fannius, the consul, to command all persons who were not born Romans to depart the city.

A new and unusual proclamation was thereupon made, prohibiting any of the allies or Confederates to appear at Rome during that time. Caius, on the contrary, published an edict, accusing the consul for what he had done, and setting forth to the Confederates that if they

would continue upon the place, they might be assured of his assistance and protection. However, he was not so good as his word. Though he saw one of his own familiar friends and companions dragged to prison by Fannius's officers, he, notwithstanding, passed by without assisting him; either because he was afraid to stand the test of his power, which was already decreased, or because, as he himself reported, he was unwilling to give his enemies an opportunity, which they very much desired, of coming to actual violence and fighting.

He failed of being elected tribune the third time; not but that he had the most votes, but because his colleagues out of revenge caused false returns to be made. But as to this matter there was a controversy. Certain it is, he very much resented this repulse.

As soon as Opimius also was chosen consul, they presently canceled several of Caius's laws, and especially called in question his proceedings at Carthage, omitting nothing that was likely to irritate him, that from some effect of his passion they might find out a tolerable pretense to put him to death. Caius at first bore these things very patiently; but afterwards, at the instigation of his friends, especially Fulvius, he resolved to put himself at the head of a body of supporters, to oppose the consul by force.

*[When the senate met to repeal the laws of Caius, action had to be postponed, partly because of a riot in which a servant of the consul was stabbed to death, also because "a great shower of rain on a sudden put an end to the business of that day."]*

The senators presently ordered that Opimius, the consul, should be invested with extraordinary power to protect the commonwealth and suppress all tyrants. This being decreed, he presently commanded the senators to arm themselves, and the Roman knights to be in readiness very early the next morning, and every one of them to be attended with two servants well armed. Fulvius, on the other side, made his preparations and collected the populace.

Those who were a guard to Fulvius passed away the night with shouting and drinking, and Fulvius himself, being the first to get drunk, spoke and acted many things very unbecoming a man of his age and character. On the other side, the party which guarded Caius were quiet and diligent, relieving one another by turns, and forecasting, as in a public calamity, what the issue of things might be. As soon as daylight appeared, they roused Fulvius, who had not yet slept off

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the effects of his drinking; and having armed themselves with the weapons hung up in his house they presently, with threats and loud acclamations, made their way towards the Aventine Mount.

Caius could not be persuaded to arm himself, but put on his gown, as if he had been going to the assembly of the people, only with this difference, that under it he had then a short dagger by his side. As he was going out, his wife came running to him at the gate, holding him with one hand, and with the other a young child of his. She cried to him: "Alas, Caius, you go now to expose your person to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed indeed, and rightly so, choosing rather to suffer the worst of injuries than do the least yourself. But even your very death at this time will not be serviceable to the public good. Faction prevails; power and arms are now the only measures of justice. What trust can we place either on the laws, or in the gods?" Licinia, thus bewailing, Caius, by degrees getting loose from her embraces, silently withdrew himself, accompanied by his friends; she, endeavoring to catch him by the gown, fell prostrate upon the earth, lying there for some time speechless.

Fulvius, when the people were gathered together in a full body, by the advice of Caius sent his youngest son into the market-place, with a herald's rod in his hand. He, being a very handsome youth, and modestly addressing himself, with tears in his eyes and a becoming bashfulness, offered proposals of agreement to the consul and the whole senate. The greatest part of the assembly were inclinable to accept of the proposals; but Opimius, who was resolved that a battle should ensue, caused the youth to be apprehended and committed into custody; and then with a company of his foot-soldiers and some Cretan archers set upon the party under Fulvius. These archers did such execution, and inflicted so many wounds, that a rout and flight quickly ensued. Fulvius fled into an obscure bathing-house; but shortly after being discovered, he and his eldest son were slain together.

Caius was not observed to use any violence against anyone; but extremely disliking all these outrages, retired to Diana's temple. There he attempted to kill himself, but was hindered by his faithful friends, Pomponius and Licinius. They took his sword away from him, and were very urgent that he would endeavor to make his escape. It is reported that, falling upon his knee and lifting up his hands, he prayed the goddess that the Roman people, as a punishment for their in-

*Translated by John Dryden*

gratitude and treachery, might always remain in slavery. For as soon as a proclamation was made of a pardon, the greater part openly deserted him.

Caius, therefore, endeavored now to make his escape, but was pursued so close by his enemies, as far as the wooden bridge, that from thence he narrowly escaped. There his two trusty friends begged of him to preserve his own person by flight, while they in the meantime would keep their post, and maintain the passage; neither could their enemies, until they were both slain, pass the bridge. Caius had no other companion in his flight but one Philocrates, a servant of his.

As he ran along, everybody encouraged him, and wished him success, as standers-by may do to those who are engaged in a race, but nobody either lent him any assistance, or would furnish him with a horse, though he asked for one; for his enemies had gained ground, and got very near him. However, he had still time enough to hide himself in a little grove, consecrated to the Furies. In that place, his servant Philocrates having first slain him, presently afterwards killed himself also, and fell dead upon his master. Though some affirm it for a truth, that they were both taken alive by their enemies, and that Philocrates embraced his master so close, that they could not wound Caius until his servant was slain.

CAIUS MARIUS (c. 157–86 B.C.)

*A Comment on the*  
STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN ROME

*[The eternally recurrent struggle between reforming liberal and stand-pat conservative was complicated by the fact that Rome never developed the device of representative government. Hence control of the ever-growing power of Rome came more and more to be a desperate game played among those who knew the tricks of manipulating the votes of senate and of popular assembly partly by persuasion, partly by bribery, when necessary by brute force.]*

*Among those who played this game, with world power as the stake, were Marius, who represented or professed to represent the interest of the people; Sulla, who defended the special interests of the senate and the aristocratic party; and Crassus, who seems to have been a private enterpriser seeking chiefly personal profit.]*

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

THERE IS a likeness of Marius in stone at Ravenna, which I myself saw, quite corresponding with that roughness of character that is ascribed to him. Being more acquainted also with the discipline of the camp than of the city, he could not moderate his passion when in authority. He is said never to have studied Greek, thinking it ridiculous to bestow time in that learning, the teachers of which were little better than slaves.

He was born of parents altogether obscure and indigent, who supported themselves by their daily labor. He had spent a considerable part of his life before he saw and tasted the pleasures of the city; in a village of the territory of Arpinum, a life rude and unrefined, yet temperate, and conformable to the ancient Roman severity.

He first served as a soldier in the war against the Celtiberians, when Scipio Africanus besieged Numantia; where he signalized himself to his general by courage far above his comrades. Once when at an entertainment a question arose about commanders, and one of the company asked Scipio where the Romans, after him, should obtain such another general, Scipio, gently clapping Marius on the shoulder as he sat next him, replied, "Here, perhaps." It was this speech of Scipio, we are told, which chiefly emboldened Marius to aspire to a political career. He sought and obtained the office of tribune of the people.

The consul Cæcilius Metellus, being declared general in the war against Jugurtha in Africa, took with him Marius for lieutenant. Eager himself to do great deeds and services that would get him distinction, he exerted his utmost courage. That war, too, affording several difficulties, he neither declined the greatest, nor disdained undertaking the least of them, but surpassing his equals in counsel and conduct, and matching the very common soldiers in labor and abstemiousness, he gained great popularity with them.

Marius before long filled both Africa and Rome with his fame, and some, too, wrote home from the army that the war with Africa would never be brought to a conclusion unless they chose Caius Marius consul. All which was evidently displeasing to Metellus. Yet Marius being very importunate to be gone, after several delays, he was dismissed about twelve days before the election of consuls.

He was elected triumphantly, and at once proceeded to levy soldiers contrary both to law and custom, enlisting slaves and poor people; whereas former commanders never accepted of such, but bestowed arms, like other favors, as a matter of distinction, on persons who had

*Translated by John Dryden*

the proper qualification, a man's property being thus a sort of security for his good behavior. These were not the only occasions of ill-will against Marius; some haughty speeches, uttered with great arrogance and contempt, gave great offence to the nobility; as, for example, his saying that he had carried off the consulship as a spoil from the effeminacy of the wealthy and high-born citizens, and telling the people that he gloried in wounds he had himself received for them, as much as others did in the monuments of dead men, and images of their ancestors.

As soon as he arrived again in Africa, Metellus, no longer able to control his feelings of jealousy, and his indignation that now when he had really finished the war, and nothing was left but to secure the person of Jugurtha, Marius, grown great merely through his ingratitude to him, should come to bereave him both of his victory and triumph, could not bear to have any interview with him; but retired himself, while Rutilius, his lieutenant, surrendered up the army to Marius.

*[As it turned out, however, the fame of capturing Jugurtha went not to Marius but to his quæstor (paymaster) Sulla, to whom Jugurtha was surrendered by the latter's father-in-law, Bocchus. Then came news of a threatened invasion of Italy by a horde of Teutonic and Celtic tribes who had been raiding Spain and Gaul.]*

They were three hundred thousand effective fighting men, besides a far greater number of women and children, seeking new countries where they might settle and inhabit, in the same way as the Celti before them had possessed themselves of the best part of Italy. No man knew what people they were, or whence they came, that thus like a cloud burst over Gaul and Italy; yet by their grey eyes and the largeness of their stature they were conjectured to be some of the German races dwelling by the northern sea.

There are some that say that the country of the Celti, in its vast size and extent, reaches from the furthest sea and the arctic regions to the lake Mæotis [*Sea of Azov*] eastward, and to that part of Scythia [*Southern Russia*] which is near Pontus [*Asia Minor*] and that there the nations mingle together; that they did not swarm out of their country all at once, or on a sudden, but advancing by force of arms, in the summer season, every year, in the course of time they crossed the whole continent.

Part of them still inhabit the remotest regions lying upon the outer ocean. These, they say, live in a dark and woody country hardly

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penetrable by the sunbeams, the trees are so close and thick; and their position on the earth is under that part of heaven where the pole is so elevated that their days and nights being almost of an equal length, they divide their year into one of each.

They were of invincible strength and fierceness in their wars, and hurried into battle with the violence of a devouring flame; none could withstand them. Several of the greatest Roman commanders with their whole armies, that advanced for the defense of Transalpine Gaul, were ingloriously overthrown, and, indeed, by their faint resistance, chiefly gave them the impulse of marching towards Rome. Having vanquished all they had met, and found abundance of plunder, they resolved to settle themselves nowhere till they should have razed the city of Rome and wasted all Italy. The Romans, being from all parts alarmed with this news, sent for Marius to undertake the war, and nominated him the second time consul, though the law did not permit anyone that was absent, or that had not waited a certain time after his first consulship, to be again created.

On the expedition he carefully disciplined and trained his army while they were on their way, giving them practice in long marches, and running of every sort, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage and prepare his own victuals; insomuch that thenceforward laborious soldiers, who did their work silently without grumbling, had the name of "Marius's mules."

*[Marius established a fortified camp by the mouth of the Rhone. One part of the enemy, the Teutones and the Ambrones, moved along the shore of the Mediterranean against him; the other part, the Cimbri, crossed into the Tyrol.]*

Now the Teutones, while Marius lay quiet, ventured to attack his camp; from whence, however, being encountered with showers of darts, and losing several of their men, they determined to march forward, hoping to reach the other side of the Alps without opposition, and, packing up their baggage, passed securely by the Roman camp. The greatness of their number was especially made evident by the long time they took in their march, for they were said to be six days continually going on in passing Marius's fortifications. They marched pretty near, and revilingly asked the Romans if they would send any commands by them to their wives, for they would shortly be with them. As soon as they were passed and had gone on a little distance ahead, Marius began to move, and follow them at his leisure, always



*Translated by John Dryden*

encamping at some small distance from them; choosing also strong positions, and carefully fortifying them, that he might quarter with safety. Thus they marched till they came to the place called Sextilius's Waters [*Aix-en-Provence*], from whence it was but a short way before being amidst the Alps, and here Marius put himself in readiness for the encounter.

He chose a place for his camp of considerable strength, but where there was a scarcity of water; designing, it is said, by this means, also, to put an edge on his soldiers' courage.

*[A skirmish began at the river which was the only source of drinking-water and developed into a full-scale battle.]*

The Romans, coming from the higher ground pouring upon the enemy, forcibly repelled them, and the most of them (one thrusting another into the river) were there slain, and filled it with their blood and dead bodies. Those that got safe over, not daring to make head, were slain by the Romans, as they fled to their camp and wagons; where the women meeting them with swords and hatchets, and making a hideous outcry, set upon those that fled as well as those that pursued, the one as traitors, the other as enemies.

After the Romans were retired from the great slaughter, night came on; but the army was not indulged, as was the usual custom, with songs of victory, drinking in their tents, and mutual entertainments and (what is most welcome to soldiers after successful fighting) quiet sleep, but they passed that night, above all others, in fears and alarm. For their camp was without either rampart or palisade, and there remained thousands upon thousands of their enemies yet unconquered. There were heard from these all through the night wild bewailings, nothing like the sighs and groans of men, but a sort of wild-beast-like howling and cursing joined with threats and lamentations rising from the vast multitude, and echoed among the neighboring hills and hollow banks of the river. The whole plain was filled with hideous noise, insomuch that the Romans were not a little afraid, and Marius himself was apprehensive of a confused tumultuous night engagement. But the enemy did not stir either this night or the next day.

*[The final battle, in which the Romans again attacked down-hill, was decisive.]*

The Romans, pursuing them, slew and took prisoners above one hundred thousand, and possessing themselves of their spoil, tents, and

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carriages, voted all that was not purloined to Marius's share, which, though so magnificent a present, yet was generally thought less than his conduct deserved in so great a danger. They say, however, that the inhabitants of Massilia [*Marseilles*] made fences round their vineyards with the bones, and that the ground, enriched by the moisture of the putrified bodies (soaked with the rain of the following winter), yielded a prodigious crop.

*[The Cimbri had gone around to the north to swarm down through the Brenner Pass onto the plains of the Po. There they were met by the legions of Catulus and Marius, one hot and dusty August day in the year 101 B.C.]*

Here the greatest part and most valiant of the enemies were cut in pieces; for those that fought in the front, that they might not break their ranks, were fast tied to one another, with long chains put through their belts. But as they pursued those that fled to their camp they witnessed a most fearful tragedy; the women, standing in black clothes on their wagons, slew all that fled, some their husbands, some their brethren, others their fathers; and strangling their little children with their own hands, threw them under the wheels and the feet of the cattle, and then killed themselves. They tell of one who hung herself from the end of the pole of a wagon, with her children tied dangling at her heels. The men, for want of trees, tied themselves, some to the horns of the oxen, others by the neck to their legs, that so pricking them on, by the starting and springing of the beasts, they might be torn and trodden to pieces. Yet for all they thus massacred themselves, above sixty thousand were taken prisoners, and those that were slain were said to be twice as many.

Marius was now in his fifth consulship, and he sued for his sixth in such a manner as never any man before him had done, even for his first; he courted the people's favor and ingratiated himself with the multitude by every sort of complaisance; not only derogating from the state and dignity of his office, but also belying his own character, by attempting to seem popular and obliging, for which nature had never designed him.

He thus became very odious to all the nobility; and above all, he feared Metellus, who had been so ungratefully used by him. Marius, therefore, endeavored to banish him from the city, and for this purpose he contracted a close alliance with Glaucia and Saturninus, a couple of daring fellows, who had the great mass of the indigent and

sedition multitude at their control; and by their assistance he enacted various laws, and bringing the soldiers, also, to attend the assembly, he was enabled to overpower Metellus.

He obtained his sixth consulship by distributing vast sums of money among the tribes, and by this bribery kept out Metellus, and had Valerius Flaccus given him as his instrument, rather than his colleague, in the consulship. The people had never before bestowed so many consulships on any one man, except on Valerius Corvinus.

Marius contracted a great deal of hatred, by committing several gross misdemeanors in compliance with the desires of Saturninus; among which was the murder of Nonius whom Saturninus slew because he stood in competition with him for the tribuneship. And afterwards, Saturninus, on becoming tribune, brought forward his law for the division of lands, with a clause enacting that the senate publicly swear to confirm whatever the people should vote, and not to oppose them in anything.

Saturninus put it to the vote, that the consuls should place Metellus under their interdict, and forbid him fire, water, and lodging. Nevertheless, when many of the better sort gathered about Metellus, he would not suffer them to raise a sedition upon his account, but with this calm reflection left the city, "Either when the posture of affairs is mended and the people repent, I shall be recalled, or if things remain in their present condition, it will be best to be absent."

Marius, in return for this piece of service, was forced to connive at Saturninus, now proceeding to the very height of insolence and violence and was, without knowing it, the instrument of mischief beyond endurance, the only course of which was through outrages and massacres to tyranny and the subversion of the government.

Somewhat later there was an edict preferred to recall Metellus from banishment; this Marius vigorously, but in vain, opposed both by word and deed, and was at length obliged to desist. The people unanimously voted for it; and Marius, not able to endure the sight of Metellus's return, made a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia; giving out that he had to perform the sacrifices which he had vowed to Cybele.

When Marius returned again to Rome, he built a house close by the forum, saying he was not willing his clients should be fatigued by going far. However, the real reason was, that, being inferior to others in agreeableness of conversation and the arts of political life, like a mere tool and implement of war, he was thrown aside in time of peace.

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Amongst all those whose brightness eclipsed his glory, he was most incensed against Sulla, who had owed his rise to the hatred which the nobility bore Marius.

The Social War, then on a sudden threatening the city, put a stop to this sedition when just ready to break out. For the most warlike and best-peopled countries of all Italy formed a confederacy together against Rome, and were within a little of subverting the empire.

As much glory and power as this war, so various in its events and so uncertain as to its success, conferred upon Sulla, so much it took away from Marius, who was thought tardy, unenterprising, and timid, whether it were that his age was now quenching his former heat and vigor (for he was above sixty-five years old), or that, as he himself said, his body being unfit for action, he did service above his strength. Yet, for all this, he came off victor in a considerable battle, wherein he slew six thousand of the enemies.

Afterwards when the Italians were worsted, there were several candidates suing with the aid of the popular leaders for the chief command in the war with Mithridates. Sulpicius, tribune of the people, a bold and confident man, contrary to everybody's expectation, brought forward Marius, and proposed him as proconsul and general in that war. The people were divided; some were on Marius's side, others voted for Sulla, and jeeringly bade Marius go to the baths at Baia, to cure his body, worn out, as himself confessed, with age and catarrhs.

*[Command of the proposed war against Mithridates, ruler of a flourishing, expanding kingdom in Asia Minor, was a much-desired political plum because of the prestige that would reward whoever destroyed this threat to Roman power, and because of the opportunities for profitable looting.]*

Sulpicius, having thus obtained the mastery, decreed the command of the army to Marius, who proceeded to make preparations for his march, and sent two tribunes to receive the charge of the army from Sulla. Sulla hereupon exasperating his soldiers, who were about thirty-five thousand full-armed men, led them towards Rome. First falling upon the tribunes Marius had sent, they slew them; Marius having done as much for several of Sulla's friends in Rome, and now offering their freedom to the slaves on condition of their assistance in the war; of whom, however, they say, there were but three who accepted his proposal.

*Translated by John Dryden*

For some small time he made head against Sulla's assault, but was soon overpowered and fled; those that were with him, as soon as he had escaped out of the city, were dispersed, and night coming on, he hastened to a country-house of his, called Solonium. Hence he sent his son to some neighboring farms of his father-in-law, Mucius, to provide necessaries; he went himself to Ostia, where his friend Numerius had prepared him a ship, and hence, not staying for his son, he took with him his son-in-law Granius, and weighed anchor.

*[In his flight Marius three times barely escaped capture and death: once at Mintorno on his way down the Italian coast, again in Sicily, finally in North Africa, where neither the Roman governor Sextilius nor the native king of Numidia dared to give him refuge.]*

From Rome news came that Sulla was engaged with Mithridates's generals in Bœotia; and that the consuls were fallen to downright fighting, wherein Octavius prevailing, drove Cinna out of the city; while Cinna, raising forces in other parts of Italy, carried the war against them. As soon as Marius heard of this he resolved, with all expedition, to put to sea again, and taking with him from Africa some Mauritanian [Moroccan] horse, and a few of the refugees out of Italy, all together not above one thousand, he, with this handful, began his voyage.

Arriving in Etruria, he proclaimed freedom for the slaves; and many of the countrymen, also, and shepherds thereabouts, who were already freemen, at the hearing his name, flocked to him to the seaside. He persuaded the youngest and strongest to join him, and in a small time got together a competent force with which he filled forty ships. Knowing Cinna to be suspected by Sulla, and in actual warfare against the established government, he determined to join himself and his forces with the former.

When Cinna had joyfully received his offer, naming him proconsul, and sending him the fasces and other ensigns of authority, he said that grandeur did not become his present fortune; but wearing an ordinary habit, and still letting his hair grow as it had done, from that very day he first went into banishment, and being now above threescore and ten years old, he came slowly on foot, designing to move people's compassion. This did not prevent, however, his natural fierceness of expression from still predominating, and his humiliation still let it appear that he was not so much dejected as exasperated by the change of his condition.

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Having saluted Cinna and the soldiers, he immediately prepared for action, and soon made a considerable alteration in the state of affairs. He first cut off the provision ships, and plundering all the merchants, made himself master of the supplies of grain. Then, bringing his navy to the seaport towns, he took them, and at last, becoming master of Ostia [*the port of Rome*] by treachery, he pillaged that town, and slew a multitude of the inhabitants, and, blocking up the river, took from the enemy all hopes of supply by the sea; then marched with his army toward Rome, and posted himself upon the hill called Janiculum.

When affairs were in this posture, the senate assembled, and sent a deputation to Cinna and Marius, desiring them to come into the city peaceably and spare the citizens. Cinna, as consul, received the embassy, and returned a kind answer to the messengers; Marius stood by him and said nothing, but gave sufficient testimony, by the gloominess of his countenance and the sternness of his looks, that he would in a short time fill the city with blood. As soon as the council arose, they went toward the city, where Cinna entered with his guards, but Marius stayed at the gates, and, dissembling his rage, professed that he was then an exile and banished his country by course of law; that if his presence were necessary, they must, by a new decree, repeal the former act by which he was banished.

Hereupon the people were assembled, but before three or four tribes had given their votes, throwing up his pretenses and his legal scruples about his banishment, he came into the city with a select guard of the slaves who had joined him, whom he called *Bardyæi*. These proceeded to murder a number of citizens, as he gave command, partly by word of mouth, partly by the signal of his nod.

At length Ancharius, a senator, and one that had been prætor, coming to Marius, and not being re-saluted by him, they with their drawn swords slew him before Marius's face. Henceforth this was their token, immediately to kill all those who met Marius and, saluting him, were taken no notice of, nor answered with the like courtesy; so that his very friends were not without dreadful apprehensions and horror, whensoever they came to speak with him.

When they had now butchered a great number, Cinna grew cloyed with murders; but Marius's rage continued still fresh and unsatisfied, and he daily sought for all that were any way suspected by him. Now was every road and every town filled with those that pursued and hunted them that fled and hid themselves; and it was remarkable that there was no more confidence to be placed, as things stood, either in

hospitality or friendship; for there were found but a very few that did not betray those that fled to them for shelter.

Catulus Lutatius, who had been colleague with Marius, and his partner in the triumph over the Cimbri, when Marius replied to those that interceded for him and begged his life, merely with the words, "He must die," shut himself up in a room, and making a great fire, smothered himself. When maimed and headless carcasses were now frequently thrown about and trampled upon the streets, people were not so much moved with compassion at the sight, as struck into a kind of horror and consternation. The outrages of those that were called *Bardyaei* were the greatest grievance. These murdered the masters of families in their own houses, abused their children, and ravished their wives, and were uncontrollable in their rapine and murders, till those of Cinna's and Sertorius's party, taking counsel together, fell upon them in the camp and killed them every man.

In the interim, as if a change of wind was coming on, there came news from all parts that Sulla, having put an end to the war with Mithridates, and taken possession of the provinces, was returning into Italy with a great army. This gave some small respite and intermission to these unspeakable calamities. Marius and his friends believing war to be close at hand, Marius was chosen consul the seventh time.

Marius, himself now worn out with labor and sinking under the burden of anxieties, could not sustain his spirits, which shook within him with the apprehension of a new war and fresh encounters and dangers, the formidable character of which he knew by his own experience. Sulla himself was approaching, the same who had formerly banished him.

Perplexed with such thoughts as these, and calling to mind his banishment, and the tedious wanderings and dangers he underwent, both by sea and land, he fell into despondency, nocturnal frights, and unquiet sleep. Above all things fearing to lie awake, he gave himself up to drinking deep and besotting himself at night in a way most unsuitable to his age; by all means provoking sleep, as a diversion of his thoughts. At length, on the arrival of a messenger from the sea, he was seized with new alarms, and so what with his fear for the future, and what with the burden and satiety of the present, on some slight predisposing cause, he fell into a pleurisy. He kept his bed seven days, and then died.

Thus died Marius on the seventeenth day of his seventh consulship [at the age of 71], to the great joy and content of Rome, which thereby

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was in good hopes to be delivered from the calamity of a cruel tyranny; but in a small time they found that they had only changed their old and worn-out master for another, young and vigorous.

### LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA (138–78 B.C.)

#### *A Comment on SULLA*

*[After a dictatorship of the proletariat under the hard-bitten soldier Marius came the dictatorship of the aristocrat Sulla, "descended of a patrician or noble family," a ruthless right-wing political general.]*

SULLA's general personal appearance may be known by his statues; only his blue eyes, of themselves extremely keen and glaring, were rendered all the more forbidding and terrible by the complexion of his face, in which white was mixed with rough blotches of fiery red.

In his youthful obscure years he would converse freely with players and professed jesters, and join them in all their low pleasures. When supreme master of all, he was often wont to muster together the most impudent players and stage-followers of the town, and to drink and bandy jests with them without regard to his age or the dignity of his place, and to the prejudice of important affairs that required his attention.

He was prone to amorous pleasures, and yielded without resistance to any temptation of voluptuousness, from which even in his old age he could not refrain. He had a long attachment for Metrobius, a player. In his first amours, it happened that he made court to a common but rich lady, Nicopolis by name, and what by the air of his youth, and what by long intimacy, won so far on her affections, that she rather than he was the lover, and at her death she bequeathed him her whole property. He likewise inherited the estate of a step-mother who loved him as her own son. By these means he had pretty well advanced his fortunes.

In general he would seem to have been of a very irregular character, full of inconsistencies with himself; much given to rapine, to prodigality yet more; in promoting or disgracing whom he pleased, alike unaccountable; cringing to those he stood in need of, and domi-



neering over others who stood in need of him, so that it was hard to tell whether his nature had more in it of pride or of servility. As to his unequal distribution of punishments, as, for example, that upon slight grounds he would put to the torture, and again would bear patiently with the greatest wrongs; would readily forgive and be reconciled after the most heinous acts of enmity, and yet would visit small and inconsiderable offenses with death and confiscation of goods; one might judge that in himself he was really of a violent and revengeful nature, which, however, he could qualify, upon reflection, for his interest.

*[His first fame came from his capture of Jugurtha, while serving under Marius in Libya (106 B.C.). Under Catulus, he helped defeat the invading Cimbri (101 B.C.) and later "subdued by arms most part of the Alpine barbarians." After a term as prætor (chief judicial administrator) of Rome, he conducted a successful campaign in Asia Minor to restore a friendly king to power in Cappadocia (92 B.C.). Thereafter political and personal rivalry between Marius and Sulla ripened toward a showdown, until interrupted by the Social War, an attempt by certain sections of Italy to throw off the control (and taxation) of Rome. In putting this down, Sulla gained more prestige than Marius.]*

At his return to Rome he was chosen consul with Quintus Pompeius, in the fiftieth year of his age, and made a most distinguished marriage with Cæcilia, daughter of Metellus, the chief priest. The common people made a variety of verses in ridicule of the marriage, and many of the nobility also were disgusted at it, esteeming him, as Livy writes, unworthy of this connection, whom before they thought worthy of a consulship.

This was not his only wife, for first, in his younger days, he was married to Ilia, by whom he had a daughter; after her to Ælia; and thirdly to Clælia, whom he dismissed as barren, but honorably, and with professions of respect, adding, moreover, presents. But the match between him and Metella falling out a few days after occasioned suspicions that he had complained Clælia without due cause.

*[After his consulship (88 B.C.) he obtained command of the campaign against Mithridates, whose expanding power threatened Rome from the east. When Marius attempted by political intrigue to take over this command, Sulla marched his legions back to Rome, compelled Marius to flee, and killed the latter's ally, the tribune Sulpicius. "To pacify the public hostility, he created Lucius*

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*Cinna consul, one of the adverse party, having first bound him under oaths to be favorable to his interest." Thereafter Sulla set sail toward the east, stopping first to assault Athens, which was then in alliance with Mithridates.]*

Sulla, on his arrival, received by their deputations the compliments of all the cities of Greece, except Athens, against which, as it was compelled by the tyrant Aristion to hold for the king, he advanced with all his forces, and investing the Piræus, laid formal siege to it, employing every variety of engines, and trying every manner of assault; whereas, had he forborn but a little while, he might without hazard have taken the Upper City by famine, it being already reduced to the last extremity, through want of necessaries.

But eager to return to Rome, and fearing innovation there, at great risk, with continual fighting and vast expense, he pushed on the war. Besides other equipage, the very work about the engines of battery was supplied with no less than ten thousand yoke of mules, employed daily in that service. And when timber grew scarce, for many of the works failed, some crushed to pieces by their own weight, others taking fire by the continual play of the enemy, he had recourse to the sacred groves, and cut down the trees of the Academy, the shadiest of all the suburbs, and the Lyceum.

And a vast sum of money being wanted to carry on the war, he broke into the sanctuaries of Greece, that of Epidaurus and that of Olympia, sending for the most beautiful and precious offerings deposited there. He wrote, likewise, to the Amphictyons at Delphi, that it were better to remit the wealth of the god to him, for that he would keep it more securely, or in case he made use of it, restore as much.

When they had thrown down the wall, and made all level betwixt the Piraic and Sacred Gate, about midnight Sulla entered the breach, with all the terrors of trumpets and cornets sounding, with the triumphant shout and cry of an army let loose to spoil and slaughter, and scouring through the streets with swords drawn. There was no numbering the slain; the amount is to this day conjectured only from the space of ground overflowed with blood.

For without mentioning the execution done in other quarters of the city, the blood that was shed about the market-place spread over the whole Ceramicus within the Double-gate, and, according to most writers, passed through the gate and overflowed the suburb. Nor did the multitudes which fell thus exceed the number of those who, out of

pity and love for their country which they believed was now finally to perish, slew themselves; the best of them, through despair of their country's surviving, dreading themselves to survive, expecting neither humanity nor moderation in Sulla.

At length, partly at the instance of Midias and Calliphon, two exiled men, beseeching and casting themselves at his feet, partly by the intercession of those senators who followed the camp, having had his fill of revenge, and making some honorable mention of the ancient Athenians, "I forgive," said he, "the many for the sake of the few, the living for the dead." He took Athens, according to his own Memoirs, on the calends of March.

*[In two battles north of Athens (one near Plutarch's home town of Chaeronea), Sulla broke the power of Mithridates' armies of more than a hundred thousand men, and then negotiated with their general Archelaus a treaty defining spheres of influence in the Near East and requiring Mithridates to "pay the Romans two thousand talents (about \$1,000,000) and seventy ships of war." This treaty was signed and sealed at a meeting of Sulla and Mithridates at the Dardanelles, near the site of ancient Troy.]*

And so met at Dardanus in the Troad, on one side Mithridates, attended with two hundred ships, and land-forces consisting of twenty thousand men at arms, six thousand horse, and a large train of scythed chariots; on the other, Sulla with only four cohorts and two hundred horse. As Mithridates drew near and put out his hand, Sulla demanded whether he was willing or no to end the war on the terms Archelaus had agreed to, but seeing the king made no answer, "How is this?" he continued, "ought not the petitioner to speak first, and the conqueror to listen in silence?"

And when Mithridates, entering upon his plea, began to shift off the war, partly on the gods, and partly to blame the Romans themselves, he took him up, saying that he had heard, indeed, long since from others, that Mithridates was a powerful speaker, who in defense of the most foul and unjust proceedings, had not wanted for specious pretenses. Then inveighing bitterly against the outrages he had committed, he asked again whether he was willing or no to ratify the treaty of Archelaus? Mithridates answering in the affirmative, Sulla came forward, embraced and kissed him. Mithridates, when he had handed over to Sulla seventy ships and five hundred archers, set sail for Pontus [*on the Black Sea*].

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Having set out from Ephesus with the whole navy, Sulla came the third day to anchor in the Piræus [*port of Athens*]. Here he was initiated in the mysteries, and seized for his use the library of Apellicon the Teian, in which were most of the works of Theophrastus and Aristotle, then not in general circulation. When the whole was afterwards conveyed to Rome, there, it is said, that Andronicus the Rhodian, having through his means the command of numerous copies, made the treatises public.

*[On his return to Italy (83 B.C.) Sulla outgeneraled the forces of Marius, partly by battle, partly by intrigue and bribery. In the final conflict under the walls of Rome Sulla for a moment seemed close to defeat, but was saved by his younger colleague Crassus.]*

About midnight there came into Sulla's camp messengers from Crassus to fetch provision for him and his soldiers; for having vanquished the enemy, they had pursued him to the walls of Antemna, and had sat down there. Sulla, hearing this, and that most of the enemy was destroyed, came to Antemna by break of day, where three thousand of the besieged having sent forth a herald, he promised to receive them with mercy, on condition they did the enemy mischief in their coming over.

Trusting to his word, they fell foul on the rest of their companions, and made a great slaughter one of another. Nevertheless, Sulla gathered together in the circus, as well these as other survivors of the party, to the number of six thousand, and just as he commenced speaking to the senate, in the temple of Bellona, proceeded to cut them down, by men appointed for that service. The cry of so vast a multitude put to the sword, in so narrow a space, was naturally heard some distance, and startled the senators. He, however, continuing his speech with a calm and unconcerned countenance, bade them listen to what he had to say, and not busy themselves with what was doing out of doors; he had given directions for the chastisement of some offenders. This gave the most stupid of the Romans to understand that they had merely exchanged, not escaped, tyranny.

Sulla being wholly bent upon slaughter, and filling the city with executions without number or limit, many persons falling a sacrifice to private enmity, through his permission and indulgence to his friends, Caius Metellus, one of the younger men, made bold in the senate to ask him what end there was of these evils, and at what point he might be expected to stop? "We do not ask you," said he, "to par-

don any whom you have resolved to destroy, but to free from doubt those whom you are pleased to save." Sulla answering that he knew not as yet whom to spare, "Why, then," said he, "tell us whom you will punish." This Sulla said he would do.

Immediately upon this, without communicating with any of the magistrates, Sulla proscribed eighty persons, and notwithstanding the general indignation, after one day's respite, he posted two hundred and twenty more, and on the third again, as many. In an address to the people on this occasion, he told them he had put up as many names as he could think of; those which had escaped his memory, he would publish at a future time. He issued an edict likewise, making death the punishment of humanity, proscribing any who should dare to receive and cherish a proscribed person without exception to brother, son, or parents. And to him who should slay any one proscribed person, he ordained two talents' reward, even were it a slave who had killed his master, or a son his father. And what was thought most unjust of all, he caused the attainder to pass upon their sons, and sons' sons, and made open sale of all their property.

Nor did the proscription prevail only at Rome, but throughout all the cities of Italy the effusion of blood was such that neither sanctuary of the gods, nor hearth of hospitality, nor ancestral home escaped. Men were butchered in the embraces of their wives, children in the arms of their mothers. Those who perished through public animosity or private enmity were nothing in comparison of the numbers of those who suffered for their riches. Even the murderers began to say, that "his fine house killed this man, a garden that, a third, his hot baths." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet, peaceable man, and one who thought all his part in the common calamity consisted in condoling with the misfortunes of others, coming into the forum to read the list, and finding himself among the proscribed, cried out, "Woe is me, my Alban farm has informed against me." He had not gone far before he was despatched by a ruffian, sent on that errand.

In the meantime, Marius, on the point of being taken, killed himself; and Sulla, coming to Præneste, at first proceeded judicially against each particular person, till at last, finding it a work of too much time, he cooped them up together in one place, to the number of twelve thousand men, and gave order for the execution of them all, his own host alone excepted. But he, brave man, telling him he could not accept the obligation of life from the hands of one who had been the

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ruin of his country, went in among the rest, and submitted willingly to the stroke.

There were other things, besides this bloodshed, which gave offense. For Sulla had declared himself dictator, an office which had then been laid aside for the space of one hundred and twenty years. There was, likewise, an act of grace passed on his behalf, granting indemnity for what was passed, and for the future intrusting him with the power of life and death, confiscation, division of lands, erecting and demolishing of cities, taking away of kingdoms, and bestowing them at pleasure. He conducted the sale of confiscated property after such an arbitrary, imperious way, from the tribunal, that his gifts excited greater odium even than his usurpations; women, mimes, and musicians, and the lowest of the freed slaves had presents made them of the territories of nations and the revenues of cities: and women of rank were married against their will to some of them.

Wishing to insure the fidelity of Pompey the Great by a nearer tie of blood, he bade him divorce his present wife, and forcing Æmilia, the daughter of Scaurus and Metella, his own wife, to leave her husband, Manius Glabrio, he bestowed her, though then with child, on Pompey, and she died in childbirth at his house.

When Lucretius Ofella, the same who reduced Marius by siege, offered himself for the consulship, he first forbade him; then, seeing he could not restrain him, on his coming down into the forum with a numerous train of followers, he sent one of the centurions who were immediately about him, and slew him, himself sitting on the tribunal in the temple of Castor, and beholding the murder from above. The citizens apprehending the centurion, and dragging him to the tribunal, he bade them cease their clamoring and let the centurion go, for he had commanded it.

His triumph was, in itself, exceedingly splendid, and distinguished by the rarity and magnificence of the royal spoils; but its yet greatest glory was the noble spectacle of the exiles. For in the rear followed the most eminent and most potent of the citizens, crowned with garlands, and calling Sulla savior and father, by whose means they were restored to their own country, and again enjoyed their wives and children. When the solemnity was over, and the time come to render an account of his actions, addressing the public assembly, he was as profuse in enumerating the lucky chances of war as any of his own military merits. And, finally, from this felicity he requested to receive the

surname of Felix [i.e., "Lucky"]. The confidence which he reposed in his good fortune, rather than in any abilities of his own, emboldened him, though deeply involved in bloodshed, and though he had been the author of such great changes and revolutions of state, to lay down his authority, and place the right of consular elections once more in the hands of the people. And when they were held, he not only declined to seek that office, but in the forum exposed his person publicly to the people, walking up and down as a private man.

Sulla, consecrating the tenth of his whole substance to Hercules, entertained the people with sumptuous feastings. The provision was so much above what was necessary that they were forced daily to throw great quantities of meat into the river, and they drank wine forty years old and upwards. In the midst of the banqueting, which lasted many days, his wife Metella died of a disease.

Some few months after, at a show of gladiators, when men and women sat promiscuously in the theater, no distinct places being as yet appointed, there sat down by Sulla a beautiful woman of high birth, by name Valeria, daughter of Messala, and sister to Hortensius the orator. Now it happened that she had been lately divorced from her husband. Passing along behind Sulla, she leaned on him with her hand, and plucking a bit of wool from his garment, so proceeded to her seat. And on Sulla looking up and wondering what it meant, "What harm, mighty sir," said she, "if I also was desirous to partake a little in your felicity?" It appeared at once that Sulla was not displeased, but even tickled in his fancy, for he sent out to inquire her name, her birth, and past life.

From this time there passed between them many side glances, each continually turning round to look at the other, and frequently interchanging smiles. In the end, overtures were made, and a marriage concluded on. All which was innocent, perhaps, on the lady's side, but, though she had been never so modest and virtuous, it was scarcely a temperate and worthy occasion of marriage on the part of Sulla, to take fire, as a boy might, at a face and a bold look, incentives not seldom to the most disorderly and shameless passions.

Notwithstanding this marriage [*at the age of 60*], he kept company with actresses, musicians, and dancers, drinking with them on couches night and day. His chief favorites were Roscius the comedian, Sorex the arch mime, and Metrobius the player, for whom, though past his prime, he still professed a passionate fondness. By these courses he encouraged a disease which had begun from unimportant cause; and

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for a long time he failed to observe that his bowels were ulcerated, till at length the corrupted flesh broke out into lice. He went frequently by day into the bath to scour and cleanse his body, but all in vain; the evil generated too rapidly and too abundantly for any ablutions to overcome it.

Sulla not only foresaw his end, but may be also said to have written of it. For in the two-and-twentieth book of his Memoirs, which he finished two days before his death, he writes that the Chaldeans foretold him, that after he had led a life of honor, he should conclude it in fullness of prosperity. The very day before his end, it being told him that the magistrate Granius deferred the payment of a public debt, in expectation of his death, he sent for him to his house, and placing his attendants about him, caused him to be strangled; but through the straining of his voice and body, the imposthume breaking, he lost a great quantity of blood. Upon this, his strength failing him, after spending a troublesome night, he died, leaving behind him two young children by Metella. Valeria was afterwards delivered of a daughter, named Posthuma; for so the Romans call those who are born after the father's death.

The day being cloudy in the morning, they deferred carrying forth the corpse till about three in the afternoon, expecting it would rain. But a strong wind blowing full upon the funeral pile, and setting it all in a bright flame, the body was consumed so exactly in good time, that the pyre had begun to smoulder, and the fire was upon the point of expiring, when a violent rain came down, which continued till night. So that his good fortune was firm even to the last.

## MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS (c. 114–53 B.C.)

### *A Comment on CRASSUS*

*[Marius had fought in behalf of the common people—and himself. Sulla had slaughtered in defense of the aristocracy—and himself. Crassus had only one interest—his own self-interest.]*

PEOPLE were wont to say that the many virtues of Crassus were darkened by the one vice of avarice. In proof of his avarice were the vastness of his estate, and the manner of raising it; for whereas at first he was not worth above three hundred talents, yet, upon casting



up his accounts, before he went upon his Parthian expedition, he found his possessions to amount to seven thousand one hundred talents; most of which, if we may scandal him with a truth, he got by fire and rapine, making his advantages of the public calamities.

For when Sulla seized the city, and exposed to sale the goods of those that he had caused to be slain, accounting them booty and spoils, and was desirous of making as many eminent men as he could, partakers in the crime, Crassus never was the man that refused to accept, or give money for them. Moreover, observing how extremely subject the city was to fire and falling down of houses, by reason of their height and their standing so near together, he bought slaves that were builders and architects, and when he had collected these to the number of more than five hundred, he made it his practice to buy houses that were on fire, and those in the neighborhood, which, in the immediate danger and uncertainty the proprietors were willing to part with for little or nothing, so that the greatest part of Rome, at one time or other, came into his hands.

Yet for all he had so many workmen, he never built anything but his own house, and used to say that those that were addicted to building would undo themselves soon enough without the help of other enemies. And though he had many silver mines, and much valuable land, and laborers to work in it, yet all this was nothing in comparison of his slaves, such a number and variety did he possess of excellent readers, amanuenses, silversmiths, stewards and table-waiters, whose instruction he always attended to himself.

*[During the blood-purge of Marius, the father and brother of young Crassus were killed, and he fled to Spain (where his father had served as prætor), taking with him three friends and ten servants (87 B.C.).]*

But finding all people trembling at the cruelty of Marius, he durst not discover himself to anybody, but hid himself in a large cave which was by the seashore, and belonged to Vibius Pacianus, to whom he sent one of his servants to sound him, his provisions, also, beginning to fail.

Vibius, well pleased at his escape, went not to him himself, but commanded his steward to provide every day a good meal's meat, and carry it and leave it near such a rock, and to return without taking any further notice or being inquisitive, promising him his liberty if he did as he commanded and that he would kill him if he intermeddled.

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The cave is not far from the sea; a small and insignificant-looking opening in the cliffs conducts you in.

When you are entered, a wonderfully high roof spreads above you, and large chambers open out one beyond another, nor does it lack either water or light, for a very pleasant and wholesome spring runs at the foot of the cliffs, and natural chinks, in the most advantageous places, let in the light all day long.

While Crassus remained here, the steward brought them what was necessary, but never saw them, nor knew anything of the matter, though they within saw, and expected him at the customary times. Neither was their entertainment such as just to keep them alive, but given them in abundance and for their enjoyment; for Pacianus resolved to treat him with all imaginable kindness, and considering that he was a young man, thought it well to gratify a little his youthful inclinations.

Once taking with him two female servants, he showed them the place and bade them go in boldly, whom when Crassus and his friends saw, they were afraid of being betrayed and demanded what they were, and what they would have. They, according as they were instructed, answered, they came to wait upon their master, who was hid in that cave. And so Crassus perceiving it was a piece of pleasantry and of good-will on the part of Vibius, took them in and kept them there with him as long as he stayed, and employed them to give information to Vibius of what they wanted, and how they were. Fene-stella says he saw one of them, then very old, and often heard her speak of the time and repeat the story with pleasure.

After Crassus had lain concealed there eight months, on hearing that Cinna was dead, he appeared abroad, and a great number of people flocking to him, out of whom he selected a body of two thousand five hundred, he visited many cities, and, as some write, sacked Malaga, which he himself, however, always denied, and contradicted all who said so. Afterwards, getting together some ships, he passed into Africa, and joined with Metellus Pius; but upon some difference between him and Metellus, he stayed not long there, but went over to Sulla, by whom he was very much esteemed.

*[Crassus was of considerable help to Sulla in seizing power (82 B.C.), and extracted considerable profit in reward thereof. Some ten years later came a serious insurrection of runaway slaves and impoverished farm-hands led by the gladiator Spartacus. For*

*Translated by John Dryden*

*two years a horde of thousands of desperate rebels ravaged up and down Italy, twice repulsing armies sent against them. Finally (71 B.C.) Crassus shattered the rebel army, killing Spartacus; but the young Pompey, coming back from triumphs in Spain, captured and executed many of the stragglers, and somehow got most of the credit.]*

And Pompey being immediately invited to the consulship (70 B.C.), Crassus, who had hoped to be joined with him, did not scruple to request his assistance. Pompey most readily seized the opportunity, as he desired by all means to lay some obligation upon Crassus, and zealously promoted his interest; and at last he declared in one of his speeches to the people that he should be not less beholden to them for his colleague than for the honor of his own appointment. But once entered upon the employment, this amity continued not long; but differing almost in everything, disagreeing, quarreling, and contending, they spent the time of their consulship without effecting any measure of consequence, except that Crassus made a great sacrifice to Hercules, and feasted the people at ten thousand tables, and measured them out grain for three months.

*[The next ten years were marked by expansion of Roman power in Syria and Palestine, by the increasing political importance of Pompey, Cicero, and Julius Cæsar, and by the conspiracy of Catiline (64–63 B.C.), an attempt by dissatisfied elements to take control of the government away from the "optimates" (i.e., the "best people"). It was suspected but not proved that Crassus and Cæsar were secretly involved in this scheme. Political tensions were temporarily stabilized in 60 B.C. by what came to be called the First Triumvirate.]*

Cæsar now returning from his command [*in Spain*], and designing to get the consulship, and seeing that Crassus and Pompey were again at variance, was unwilling to disoblige one by making application to the other, and despaired of success without the help of one of them; he therefore made it his business to reconcile them. And so by his persuasions, out of the three parties he set up one irresistible power, which utterly subverted the government both of senate and people.

Not that he made either Pompey or Crassus greater than they were before, but by their means made himself greatest of all; for by the help of the adherents of both, he was at once gloriously declared consul,

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which office when he administered with credit, they decreed him the command of an army, and allotted him Gaul for his province, and so placed him as it were in the citadel, not doubting but they should divide the rest at their pleasure between themselves, when they had confirmed him in his allotted command. Pompey was actuated in all this by an immoderate desire of ruling, but Crassus, adding to his old disease of covetousness, a new passion after trophies and triumphs, emulous of Cæsar's exploits, not content to be beneath him in these points, though above him in all others, could not be at rest, till it ended in an ignominious overthrow and a public calamity.

*[Beginning 58 B.C. Cæsar gained great glory and wealth by conquering Gaul, incidentally making spectacular raids into Germany and Britain. In 55 B.C. Crassus and Pompey got themselves again elected to the consulship, by chasing their opponents away from the forum and killing "some that made resistance." The plum Crassus secured was the province of Syria, which for him meant an opportunity to acquire fame and loot by attacking the rich eastern empire of Parthia (Persia).]*

Crassus was so transported with his fortune that it was manifest he thought he had never had such good luck befall him as now, so that he had much to do to contain himself before company and strangers; but amongst his private friends he let fall many vain and childish words, which were unworthy of his age, and contrary to his usual character, for he had been very little given to boasting hitherto. But then being strangely puffed up, and his head heated, he would not limit his fortune with Parthia and Syria; but he proposed to himself in his hopes to pass as far as Bactria and India, and the utmost ocean. Not that he was called upon by the decree which appointed him to his office to undertake any expedition against the Parthians, but it was well known that he was eager for it, and Cæsar wrote to him out of Gaul commending his resolution, and inciting him to the war.

Crassus was then sixty years old, and he seemed older than he was. At first things went as he would have them, for he made a bridge over the Euphrates, without much difficulty, and passed over his army in safety, and occupied many cities of Mesopotamia, which yielded voluntarily. But a hundred of his men were killed in one, in which Apollonius was tyrant; therefore, bringing his forces against it, he took it by storm, plundered the goods, and sold the inhabitants. The Greeks call this city Zenodotia.

Putting garrisons of seven thousand foot and one thousand horse in the new conquests, he returned to take up his winter quarters in Syria, where his son was to meet him coming from Cæsar out of Gaul, decorated with rewards for his valor, and bringing with him one thousand select horse. Here Crassus seemed to commit his first error, and except, indeed, the whole expedition, his greatest. Whereas he ought to have gone forward and seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities that were ever at enmity with the Parthians, he gave the enemy time to provide against him. Besides, he spent his time in Syria more like a usurer than a general, not in taking an account of the arms, and in improving the skill and discipline of his soldiers, but in computing the revenue of the cities, wasting many days in weighing by scale and balance the treasure that was in the temple of Hierapolis, issuing requisitions for levies of soldiers upon particular towns and kingdoms, and then again withdrawing them on payment of sums of money, by which he lost his credit and became despised.

Here, too, he met with the first ill-omen from that goddess, whom some call Venus, others Juno, others Nature, or the Cause that produces the first principles and seeds of all things, and gives mankind their earliest knowledge of all that is good for them. For as they were going out of the temple young Crassus stumbled and his father fell upon him.

Some of the officers advised Crassus to reconsider the whole enterprise, amongst whom in particular was Cassius, the quæstor. The soothsayers, also, told him privately the signs found in the sacrifices were continually adverse and unfavorable. But he paid no heed to them, or to anybody who gave any other advice than to proceed.

Artabazes, King of Armenia, who came to his aid with six thousand horse, urged Crassus to invade Parthia by the way of Armenia, for not only would he be able there to supply his army with abundant provision, which he would give him, but his passage would be more secure in the mountains and hills, with which the whole country was covered, making it almost impassable to horse, in which the main strength of the Parthians consisted. Crassus returned him but cold thanks for his readiness to serve him, and for the splendor of his assistance, and told him he was resolved to pass through Mesopotamia; whereupon the Armenian went his way.

Crassus marched his army along the river with seven legions, little less than four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers, and the scouts returning declared that not one man appeared, but that they

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saw the footing of a great many horses which seemed to be retiring in flight, whereupon Crassus conceived great hopes, and the Romans began to despise the Parthians, as men that would not come to combat, hand to hand. But Cassius spoke with him again, and advised him to refresh his army in some of the garrison towns, and remain there till they could get some certain intelligence of the enemy, or at least to keep by the river, that so they might have the convenience of having provision constantly supplied by the boats, and the river would secure them from being environed, and, if they should fight, it might be upon equal terms.

While Crassus was still considering, and as yet undetermined, there came to the camp an Arab chief named Ariamnes, a cunning and wily fellow, who, of all the evil chances which combined to lead them on to destruction, was the chief and the most fatal. Some of Pompey's old soldiers knew him, and remembered him to have received some kindnesses of Pompey, and to have been looked upon as a friend to the Romans, but he was now suborned by the king's generals, and sent to Crassus to entice him if possible from the river and hills into the wide, open plain, where he might be surrounded. When Ariamnes had thus worked upon him, he drew him from the river into vast plains, by a way that at first was pleasant and easy but afterwards very troublesome by reason of the depth of the sand, no tree, nor any water, and no end of this to be seen; so that they were not only spent with thirst, and the difficulty of the passage, but were dismayed with the uncomfortable prospect of not a bough, not a stream, not a hillock, not a green herb, but in fact a sea of sand, which encompassed the army with its waves.

They began to suspect some treachery, and at the same time came messengers from Artavasdes, that he was fiercely attacked by Hyrodes, who had invaded his country, so that now it was impossible for him to send any reinforcements, and that he therefore advised Crassus to turn back, and with joint forces to give Hyrodes battle, or at least that he should march and encamp where horses could not easily come, and keep to the mountains. Crassus, out of anger and perverseness, wrote him no answer, but told them, at present he was not at leisure to mind the Armenians, but he would call upon them another time, and revenge himself upon Artavasdes for his treachery. Cassius and his friends began again to complain, but when they perceived that it merely displeased Crassus, they gave over.

Crassus came abroad that day not in his scarlet robe, which Roman

generals usually wear, but in a black one, which, as soon as he perceived, he changed. And the standard-bearers had much ado to take up their eagles, which seemed to be fixed to the place. Crassus laughed at it, and hastened their march, and compelled his infantry to keep pace with his cavalry, till some few of the scouts returned and told them that their fellows were slain and they hardly escaped, that the enemy was at hand in full force, and resolved to give them battle.

On this all was in an uproar; Crassus was struck with amazement, and for haste could scarcely put his army in good order. He drew up his army in a square, and made a front every way, each of which consisted of twelve cohorts, to every one of which he allotted a troop of horse, that no part might be destitute of the assistance that the horse might give. Cassius commanded one of the wings, young Crassus the other, and he himself was in the middle. Thus they marched on till they came to a little river named Balissus, a very inconsiderable one in itself, but very grateful to the soldiers, who had suffered so much by thirst and heat all along their march.

Most of the commanders were of the opinion that they ought to remain there that night, and to inform themselves as much as possible of the number of the enemies, and their order, and so march against them at break of day. But Crassus was so carried away by the eagerness of his son, and the horsemen that were with him, that he commanded those that had a mind to it to eat and drink as they stood in their ranks, and before they had all well done, he led them on, not leisurely and with halts to take breath, as if he was going to battle, but kept on his pace as if he had been in haste, till they saw the enemy, contrary to their expectation, neither so many nor so magnificently armed as the Romans expected.

For Surena [*the Parthian general*] had hid his main force behind the first ranks, and ordered them to hide the glittering of their armor with coats and skins. But when they approached and the general gave the signal, immediately all the field rung with a hideous noise and terrible clamor. For the Parthians do not encourage themselves to war with cornets and trumpets, but with a kind of kettle-drum, which they strike all at once in various quarters. With these they make a dead, hollow noise, like the bellowing of beasts, mixed with sounds resembling thunder.

When they had sufficiently terrified the Romans with their noise, they threw off the covering of their armor, and shone like lightning in their breastplates and helmets of polished steel, and with their horses

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covered with brass and steel trappings. Surena was the tallest and finest-looking man himself, but the delicacy of his looks and effeminacy of his dress did not promise so much manhood as he really was master of; for his face was painted, and his hair parted after the fashion of the Medes, whereas the other Parthians made a more terrible appearance, with their shaggy hair gathered in a mass upon their foreheads after the Scythian mode.

Crassus commanded his light-armed soldiers to charge, but they had not gone far before they were received with such a shower of arrows that they were glad to retire amongst the heavy-armed, with whom this was the first occasion of disorder and terror, when they perceived the strength and force of their darts, which pierced their arms, and passed through every kind of covering, hard and soft alike. The Parthians now placing themselves at distances began to shoot from all sides, not aiming at any particular mark (for, indeed, the order of the Romans was so close, that they could not miss if they would), but simply sent their arrows with great force out of strong bent bows, the strokes from which came with extreme violence.

The position of the Romans was a very bad one from the first; for if they kept their ranks, they were wounded, and if they tried to charge, they hurt the enemy none the more, and themselves suffered none the less. For the Parthians threw their darts as they fled, an art in which none but the Scythians excel them, and it is, indeed, a cunning practice, for while they thus fight to make their escape, they avoid the dishonor of a flight.

However, the Romans had some comfort to think that when they had spent all their arrows, they would either give over or come to blows; but when they presently understood that there were numerous camels loaded with arrows, and that when the first ranks had discharged those they had, they wheeled off and took more, Crassus, seeing no end of it, was out of all heart, and sent to his son Publius that he should endeavor to fall in upon them before he was quite surrounded.

Therefore the young man, taking with him thirteen hundred horse, one thousand of which he had from Cæsar, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of the full-armed soldiers that stood next him, led them up with design to charge the Parthians. They turned and began to fly; whereupon he, crying out that they durst not stand, pursued them. The horse thus pushing on, the infantry stayed a little behind, being exalted with hopes and joy, for they supposed they had already con-



quered, and now were only pursuing; till when they were gone too far, they perceived the deceit, for they that seemed to fly now turned again, and a great many fresh ones came on.

Upon this they made a halt, for they doubted not but now the enemy would attack them, because they were so few. But they merely placed their cuirassiers to face the Romans, and with the rest of their horse rode about scouring the field, and thus stirring up the sand, they raised such a dust that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another, and being driven in upon one another in one close body, they were thus hit and killed, dying, not by a quick and easy death, but with miserable pains and convulsions; for writhing upon the darts in their bodies, they broke them in their wounds, and when they would by force pluck out the barbed points, they caught the nerves and veins, so that they tore and tortured themselves. When Publius exhorted them to charge the cuirassiers, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet stuck to the ground, so that they could neither fly nor fight. He charged in himself boldly, however, with his horse, and came to close quarters with them, but was very unequal, whether as to the offensive or defensive part; for with his weak and little javelins, he struck against targets that were of tough raw hides and iron, whereas, the lightly clad bodies of his Gaulish horsemen were exposed to the strong spears of the enemy.

The Gauls were chiefly tormented by the heat and drouth, being not accustomed to either, and most of their horses were slain by being spurred on against the spears, so that they were forced to retire among the foot, bearing off Publius grievously wounded. Observing a sandy hillock not far off, they made to it, and tying their horses to one another, and placing them in the midst, and joining all their shields together before them, they thought they might make some defense against the barbarians. But it fell out quite contrary. The Parthians coming upon the rest with their lances, killed them fighting, nor were there above five hundred taken prisoners. Cutting off the head of Publius, they rode off directly towards Crassus.

His condition was thus. When he had commanded his son to fall upon the enemy, and word was brought him that they fled and that there was a distant pursuit, and perceiving also that the enemy did not press upon him so hard as formerly, he began to take heart a little; and drawing his army towards some sloping ground, waited for his son to return from the pursuit. Of the messengers whom Publius sent to him, the first were intercepted by the enemy, and slain; the last,

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hardly escaping, came and declared that Publius was lost, unless he had speedy reinforcements. Crassus was terribly distracted, not knowing what counsel to take, and indeed no longer capable of taking any; overpowered now by fear for the whole army, now by desire to help his son.

At last he resolved to move with his forces. Just upon this, up came the enemy with their shouts and noises more terrible than before, their drums sounding again in the ears of the Romans, who now feared a fresh engagement. And they who brought Publius's head upon the point of a spear, riding up near enough that it could be known, scoffingly inquired where were his parents, and what family he was of, for it was impossible that so brave and gallant a warrior should be the son of so pitiful a coward as Crassus. This sight above all the rest dismayed the Romans, for it did not incite them to anger as it might have done, but to horror and trembling.

Crassus, when he ordered them to shout for battle, could no longer mistake the despondency of his army, which made but a faint and unsteady noise, while the shout of the enemy was clear and bold. And when they came to the business, the Parthian servants and dependents riding about shot their arrows, and the horsemen in the foremost ranks with their spears drove the Romans close together, except those who rushed upon them for fear of being killed by their arrows. Neither did these do much execution, being quickly despatched; for the strong, thick spear made large and mortal wounds, and often ran through two men at once.

As they were thus fighting, the night coming on parted them, the Parthians boasting that they would indulge Crassus with one night to mourn his son. These, therefore, took up their quarters near them, being flushed with their victory. But the Romans had a sad night of it; for neither taking care for the burial of their dead, nor the cure of the wounded, nor the groans of the expiring, every one bewailed his own fate. For there was no means of escaping, whether they should stay for the light, or venture to retreat into the vast desert in the dark. Crassus wrapped his cloak around him, and hid himself, where he lay as an example, to ordinary minds, of the caprice of fortune, but to the wise, of inconsiderateness and ambition.

*[However, that night and the next day some of the Roman army escaped to the hills, others (including Crassus) found temporary refuge in the nearby fortified town of Carrhae, while thousands of*

*Translated by John Dryden*

*wounded and stragglers were put to the sword. When Crassus tried to lead his remaining troops to the shelter of the hills, again the Parthians surrounded them.]*

The barbarians desisted from fighting, and Surena himself, with his chief officers, riding gently to the hill, unbent his bow and held out his hand, inviting Crassus to an agreement, and saying that now he desired no other contention but that of kindness and friendship, by making a truce, and permitting them to go away in safety.

These words of Surena the rest received joyfully, and were eager to accept the offer; but Crassus, who had sufficient experience of their perfidiousness, and was unable to see any reason for the sudden change, would give no ear to them, and only took time to consider. But the soldiers cried out and advised him to treat. He tried first to prevail with them by entreaties, and told them that if they would have patience till evening, they might get into the mountains and passes, inaccessible for horse, and be out of danger. But when they mutinied and clashed their targets in a threatening manner, he was overpowered and forced to go.

Surena with his principal officers came up on horseback, and greeting him, said, "How is this, then? A Roman commander is on foot, while I and my train are mounted." But Crassus replied that there was no error committed on either side, for they both met according to the custom of their own country. Surena told him that from that time there was a league between the king his master and the Romans, but that Crassus must go with him to the river to sign it, "for you Romans," said he, "have not good memories for conditions," and so saying, reached out his hand to him. Crassus, therefore, gave order that one of his horses should be brought; but Surena told him there was no need, "the king, my master, presents you with this"; and immediately a horse with a golden bit was brought up to him, and himself was forcibly put into the saddle by the grooms, who ran by the side and struck the horse to make the more haste.

But Octavius running up, got hold of the bridle, and soon after the rest of the company came up, striving to stop the horse, and pulling back those who on both sides of him forced Crassus forward. Thus from pulling and thrusting one another, they came to a tumult, and soon after to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of the barbarians, and one of them, getting behind Octavius, killed him.

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Crassus was killed by a Parthian, called Pomaxathres; others say by a different man, and that Pomaxathres only cut off his head and right hand after he had fallen. But this is conjecture rather than certain knowledge, for those that were by had not leisure to observe particulars, and were either killed fighting about Crassus, or ran off at once to get to their comrades on the hill. But the Parthians coming up to them, and saying that Crassus had the punishment he justly deserved, and that Surena bade the rest come down from the hill without fear, some of them came down and surrendered themselves, others were scattered up and down in the night, a very few of whom got safe home, and others the Arabians, beating through the country, hunted down and put to death. It is generally said, that in all twenty thousand men were slain and ten thousand taken prisoner.

While these things were doing, Hyrodes had struck up a peace with the King of Armenia, and made a match between his son Pacorus and the King of Armenia's sister. Their feastings and entertainments in consequence were very sumptuous, and various Grecian compositions, suitable to the occasion, were recited before them. For Hyrodes was not ignorant of the Greek language and literature, and Artavasdes was so expert in it that he wrote tragedies and orations and histories, some of which are still extant.

When the head of Crassus was brought to the door, the tables had just been taken away, and one Jason, a tragic actor, of the town of Tralles, was singing the scene in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides concerning Agave. He was receiving much applause, when Sillaces, coming to the room, and having made obeisance to the king, threw down the head of Crassus into the midst of the company. The Parthians receiving it with joy and acclamations, Sillaces, by the king's command, was made to sit down, while Jason handed over the costume of Pentheus to one of the dancers in the chorus, and taking up the head of Crassus, and acting the part of a bacchante in her frenzy, in a rapturous impassioned manner, sang the lyric passages:

We've hunted down a mighty chase to-day,  
And from the mountain bring the noble prey.

The king was greatly pleased, and gave presents, according to the custom of the Parthians, to them, and to Jason, the actor, a talent. Such was the burlesque that was played, they tell us, as the afterpiece to the tragedy of Crassus's expedition.

## CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR (C. 100–44 B.C.)

### *A Comment on CÆSAR*

*[Cæsar, most famous of all famous Romans, showed his quality early. Being a nephew of Marius, when seventeen he defied the dictator Sulla by marrying a daughter of the late popular leader Cinna. When twenty-one, he boldly taunted pirates who had captured him (79 B.C.).]*

WHEN the pirates demanded of Cæsar twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them for not understanding the value of their prisoner, and voluntarily engaged to give them fifty. He presently despatched those about him to several places to raise the money, till at last he was left among a set of the most bloodthirsty people in the world, only with one friend and two attendants. Yet he made so little of them that when he had a mind to sleep, he would send to them and order them to make no noise. For thirty-eight days, with all the freedom in the world, he amused himself with joining in their exercises and games, as if they had not been his keepers, but his guards. He wrote verses and speeches, and made them his auditors, and those who did not admire them, he called to their faces illiterate and barbarous, and would often, in raillery, threaten to hang them. They were greatly taken with this, and attributed his free talking to a kind of simplicity and boyish playfulness.

As soon as his ransom was come from Miletus, he paid it, and was discharged, and proceeded at once to man some ships at the port of Miletus, and went in pursuit of the pirates, whom he surprised with their ships still stationed at the island, and took most of them. Their money he made his prize, and the men he secured in prison at Pergamus, and he made application to Junius, who was then governor of Asia, to whose office it belonged, as prætor, to determine their punishment. Junius, having his eye upon the money, for the sum was considerable, said he would think at his leisure what to do with the prisoners, upon which Cæsar took his leave of him, and went off to Pergamus, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; the punishment he had often threatened them with while he was in their hands, and they little dreamed he was in earnest.

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*[After Sulla's death (78 B.C.) the political struggle between the privileged and the poorer citizens continued, with Cicero, Cato the Younger, and Pompey emerging as leaders of the conservative upper classes, while Crassus and Cæsar put themselves forward as defenders of the common people, or at least, as investors in their good will.]*

In his pleadings at Rome, his eloquence soon obtained him great credit and favor, and he won no less upon the affections of the people by the affability of his manners and address, in which he showed a tact and consideration beyond what could have been expected at his age; and the open house he kept, the entertainments he gave, and the general splendor of his manner of life contributed little by little to create and increase his political influence. His enemies disregarded it at first, presuming it would soon fail when his money was gone; while in the meantime it was growing up and flourishing among the common people. He was so profuse in his expenses that, before he had any public employment, he was in debt thirteen hundred talents [*about \$3,000,000*] and many thought that by incurring such expense to be popular he changed a solid good for what would prove but a short and uncertain return; but in truth he was purchasing what was of the greatest value at an inconsiderable rate. When he was made surveyor of the Appian Way, he disbursed, besides the public money, a great sum out of his private purse; and when he was ædile, he provided such a number of gladiators that he entertained the people with three hundred and twenty single combats, and by his great liberality and magnificence in theatrical shows, in processions, and public feasting, he threw into the shade all the attempts that had been made before him, and gained so much upon the people that everyone was eager to find out new offices and new honors for him in return for his munificence.

There being two factions in the city, one that of Sulla, which was very powerful, the other that of Marius, which was then broken and in a low condition, he undertook to revive this and to make it his own. And to this end, while he was in the height of his repute with the people for the magnificent shows he gave as ædile, he ordered images of Marius and figures of Victory, with trophies in their hands, to be carried privately in the night and placed in the capitol. Next morning when some saw them bright with gold and beautifully made, with inscriptions upon them, referring them to Marius's exploits over the

Cimbrians, they were surprised at the boldness of him who had set them up, nor was it difficult to guess who it was.

Marius's party took courage, and it was incredible how numerous they were suddenly seen to be, and what a multitude of them appeared and came shouting into the capitol. Many, when they saw Marius's likeness, cried for joy, and Cæsar was highly extolled as the one man, in the place of all others, who was a relation worthy of Marius.

Metellus, the high priest, died [63 B.C.] and Catulus and Isauricus, persons of the highest reputation, and who had great influence in the senate, were competitors for the office, yet Cæsar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate against them. The several parties seeming very equal, Catulus, who, because he had the most honor to lose, was the most apprehensive of the event, sent to Cæsar to buy him off, with offers of a great sum of money. But his answer was, that he was ready to borrow a larger sum than that to carry on the contest.

Upon the day of election, as his mother conducted him out of doors with tears, after embracing her, "My mother," he said, "to-day you will see me either high priest or an exile." When the votes were taken, after a great struggle, he carried it, and excited among the senate and nobility great alarm lest he might now urge on the people to every kind of insolence.

*[After the conspiracy of Catiline (wherein Cæsar was suspected being at least a sympathizer), the senate took precautions.]*

Cato, much fearing some movement among the poor citizens, who were always the first to kindle the flame among the people, and placed all their hopes in Cæsar, persuaded the senate to give them a monthly allowance of grain, an expedient which put the commonwealth to the extraordinary charge of seven million five hundred thousand drachmas in the year, but quite succeeded in removing the great cause of terror for the present, and very much weakened Cæsar's power, who was just going to be made prætor (62 B.C.).

*[Cæsar's year as prætor passed without disturbance, except for a scandal involving his third wife Pompeia and Publius Clodius, a young patrician "eminent for his licentiousness of life and audacity." Cæsar refused to testify against Clodius but divorced Pompeia, saying Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion.]*

Cæsar, being out of his prætorship, had got the province of Spain, but was in great embarrassment with his creditors, who, as he was

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going off, came upon him, and were very pressing and importunate. This led him to apply himself to Crassus, who was the richest man in Rome, but wanted Cæsar's youthful vigor and heat to sustain the opposition against Pompey. Crassus took upon him to satisfy those creditors who were most uneasy to him, and would not be put off any longer, and engaged himself to the amount of eight hundred and thirty talents, upon which Cæsar was now at liberty to go to his province.

In his journey, as he was crossing the Alps, and passing by a small village of the barbarians with but few inhabitants, and those wretchedly poor, his companions asked the question among themselves by way of mockery, if there were any canvassing for offices there; any contention which should be uppermost, or feuds of great men one against another. To which Cæsar made answer seriously, "For my part, I had rather be the first man among these fellows, than the second man in Rome."

As soon as he came into Spain he was very active, and in a few days had got together ten new cohorts of foot in addition to the twenty which were there before. With these he marched against the Calaici and Lusitani and conquered them, and advancing as far as the ocean, subdued the tribes which never before had been subject to the Romans. Having managed his military affairs with good success, he was equally happy in the course of his civil government. He took pains to establish a good understanding amongst the several states, and no less care to heal the differences between debtors and creditors. He ordered that the creditor should receive two parts of the debtor's yearly income, and that the other part should be managed by the debtor himself, till by this method the whole debt was at last discharged. This conduct made him leave his province with a fair reputation; being rich himself, and having enriched his soldiers, and having received from them the honorable name of Imperator.

*[Thanks to the triumvirate (three-man rule) which he had negotiated with Pompey and Crassus, Cæsar was made consul for the year 59 B.C. He cemented the alliance by wedding his daughter Julia to Pompey. He married Calpurnia as his fourth wife and arranged for her father Piso to be consul the following year, thus keeping control of the government in the family.]*

Thus far have we followed Cæsar's actions before the wars of Gaul. After this, he seems to begin his course afresh, and to enter upon a



new life and scene of action. And the period of those wars which he now fought, and those many expeditions in which he subdued Gaul, showed him to be a soldier and general not in the least inferior to any of the greatest and most admired commanders who had ever appeared at the head of armies.

For he had not pursued the wars in Gaul full ten years when he had taken by storm above eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred states, and of the three millions of men, who made up the gross sum of those with whom at several times he engaged, he had killed one million and taken captive a second million.

He was so much master of the good-will and hearty service of his soldiers that those who in other expeditions were but ordinary men displayed a courage past defeating or withstanding when they went upon any danger where Cæsar's glory was concerned. Such a one was Acilius, who, in the sea-fight before Marseilles, had his right hand struck off with a sword, yet did not quit his buckler out of his left, but struck the enemies in the face with it, till he drove them off and made himself master of the vessel.

Another time in Africa, Scipio having taken a ship of Cæsar's in which Granius Petro, lately appointed quæstor, was sailing, gave the other passengers as free prize to his soldiers, but thought fit to offer the quæstor his life. But he said it was not usual for Cæsar's soldiers to take but give mercy, and having said so, fell upon his sword and killed himself.

This love of honor and passion for distinction were inspired into them and cherished in them by Cæsar himself, who, by his unsparing distribution of money and honors, showed them that he did not heap up wealth from the wars for his own luxury, or the gratifying his private pleasures, but that all he received was but a public fund laid by the reward and encouragement of valor, and that he looked upon all he gave to deserving soldiers as so much increase to his own riches. Added to this also, there was no danger to which he did not willingly expose himself, no labor from which he pleaded an exemption. His contempt of danger was not so much wondered at by his soldiers because they knew how much he coveted honor.

But his enduring so much hardship, which he did to all appearance beyond his natural strength, very much astonished them. For he was a spare man, had a soft and white skin, was distempered in the head and subject to an epilepsy, which, it is said, first seized him at Corduba. But he did not make the weakness of his constitution a pretext

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for his ease, but rather used war as the best physic against his indispositions; by indefatigable journeys, coarse diet, frequent lodging in the field, and continual laborious exercise, he struggled with his diseases and fortified his body against all attacks.

He slept generally in his chariots or litters, employing even his rest in pursuit of action. In the day he was thus carried to the forts, garri-sons, and camps, one servant sitting with him, who used to write down what he dictated as he went, and a soldier attending behind him with his sword drawn. He drove so rapidly that when he first left Rome he arrived at the river Rhone within eight days. He had been an expert rider from his childhood; for it was usual with him to sit with his hands joined together behind his back, and so to put his horse to its full speed. And in this war he disciplined himself so far as to be able to dictate letters from on horseback, and to give directions to two who took notes at the same time or, as Oppius says, to more. And it is thought that he was the first who contrived means for communicating with friends by cipher, when either press of business, or the large extent of the city, left him no time for a personal conference about matters that required despatch. His expedition into Britain was the most famous testimony of his courage. For he was the first who brought a navy into the western ocean, or who sailed into the Atlantic with an army to make war; and by invading an island, the reported extent of which had made its existence a matter of controversy among historians, many of whom questioned whether it were not a mere name and fiction, not a real place, he might be said to have carried the Roman empire beyond the limits of the known world. He passed thither twice [55 and 54 B.C.] from that part of Gaul which lies over against it, and in several battles which he fought did more hurt to the enemy than service to himself, for the islanders were so miserably poor that they had nothing worth being plundered of. When he found himself unable to put such an end to the war as he wished, he was content to take hostages from the king, and to impose a tribute, and then quitted the island.

*[A revolt of the Gallic tribes under Vercingetorix (52 B.C.) was finally crushed by the taking of the fortress-town Alesia in Burgundy.]*

Those who were in Alesia, having given themselves and Cæsar much trouble, surrendered at last; and Vercingetorix, who was the chief spring of all the war, putting his best armor on, and adorning his

horse, rode out of the gates, and made a turn about Cæsar as he was sitting, then quitting his horse, threw off his armor, and remained quietly sitting at Cæsar's feet until he was led away to be reserved for the triumph.

Cæsar had long ago resolved upon the overthrow of Pompey, as had Pompey, for that matter, upon his. For Crassus, the fear of whom had hitherto kept them in peace, having now been killed in Parthia, if the one of them wished to make himself the greatest man in Rome, he had only to overthrow the other; and if he again wished to prevent his own fall, he had nothing for it but to be beforehand with him whom he feared. Pompey had not been long under any such apprehensions, having till lately despised Cæsar, as thinking it no difficult matter to put down him whom he himself had advanced. But Cæsar had entertained this design from the beginning against his rivals, and had retired, like an expert wrestler, to prepare himself apart for the combat. Making the Gallic wars his exercise-ground, he had at once improved the strength of his soldiery, and had heightened his own glory by his great actions, so that he was looked on as one who might challenge comparison with Pompey.

Nor did he let go any of those advantages which were now given him both by Pompey himself and the times, and the ill-government of Rome, where all who were candidates for offices publicly gave money, and without any shame bribed the people, who, having received their pay, did not contend for their benefactors with their bare suffrages, but with bows, swords, and slings. So that after having many times stained the place of election with blood of men killed upon the spot, they left the city at last without a government at all, to be carried about like a ship without a pilot to steer her; while all who had any wisdom could only be thankful if a course of such wild and stormy disorder and madness might end no worse than in a monarchy. Some were so bold as to declare openly that the government was incurable but by a monarchy, and that they ought to take that remedy from the hands of the gentlest physician, meaning Pompey, who, though in words he pretended to decline it, yet in reality made his utmost efforts to be declared dictator.

Upon this Cæsar also sent and petitioned for the consulship and the continuance of his provinces. Cæsar began to lavish gifts upon all the public men out of the riches he had taken from the Gauls; discharged Curio, the tribune, from his great debts; gave Paulus, then consul, fifteen hundred talents, with which he built the noble court of justice

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adjoining the forum, to supply the place of that called the Fulvian. Pompey, alarmed at these preparations, now openly took steps, both by himself and his friends, to have a successor appointed in Cæsar's place, and sent to demand back the soldiers whom he had lent him to carry on the wars in Gaul. Cæsar returned them, and made each soldier a present of two hundred and fifty drachmas.

*[Cæsar's election as consul was opposed by Pompey, Cato, and the senatorial party. When negotiations through Cicero and Mark Antony, then tribune, failed to produce an acceptable compromise, Cæsar with his troops crossed the Rubicon, a small stream near Rimini which marked the boundary of his authority as provincial governor. This crucial act (49 B.C.) meant open subversion by force and violence of established constitutional precedent and of the authority of the senatorial government under Pompey's leadership.]*

The most vehement contrary passions and impulses were at work everywhere. Nor did those who rejoiced at the prospect of the change altogether conceal their feelings, but provoked quarrels by their bold expressions of confidence in the event. Pompey, sufficiently disturbed of himself, was yet more perplexed by the clamors of others.

Yet still Pompey at that time had more forces than Cæsar; but he was not permitted to pursue his own thoughts, but, being continually disturbed with false reports and alarms, as if the enemy was close upon him and carrying all before him, he gave way and let himself be borne down by the general cry. He put forth an edict declaring the city to be in a state of anarchy, and left it with orders that the senate should follow him, and that no one should stay behind who did not prefer tyranny to their country and liberty.

The consuls at once fled, without making even the usual sacrifices; so did most of the senators, carrying off their own goods in as much haste as if they had been robbing their neighbors. It was a melancholy thing to see the city tossed in these tumults, like a ship given up by her pilots, and left to run, as chance guides her, upon any rock in her way.

Cæsar took into his army Domitius's soldiers, as he did all those whom he found in any town enlisted for Pompey's service. Being now strong and formidable enough, he advanced against Pompey himself, who did not stay to receive him, but fled to Brundisium, having sent the consuls before with a body of troops to Dyrrhachium. Soon after,

upon Cæsar's approach, he set to sea. Cæsar would have immediately pursued him, but lacked shipping, and therefore went back to Rome, having made himself master of all Italy without bloodshed in the space of sixty days. When he came thither, he found the city more quiet than he expected, and many senators present, to whom he addressed himself with courtesy and deference, desiring them to send to Pompey about any reasonable accommodation towards a peace. But nobody complied with this proposal; whether out of fear of Pompey, whom they had deserted, or that they thought Cæsar did not mean what he said, but thought it his interest to talk plausibly.

Afterwards, when Metellus, the tribune, would have hindered him from taking money out of the public treasure, and cited some laws against it, Cæsar replied that arms and laws had each their own time: "If what I do displeases you, leave the place; war allows no free talking. When I have laid down my arms, and made peace, come back and make what speeches you please. And this," he added, "I tell you in diminution of my own just right, as indeed you and all others who have appeared against me and are now in my power may be treated as I please." Having said this to Metellus, he went to the doors of the treasury, and the keys being not to be found, sent for smiths to force them open. Metellus again making resistance and some encouraging him in it, Cæsar, in a louder tone, told him he would put him to death if he gave him any further disturbance. "And this," said he, "you know, young man, is more disagreeable for me to say than to do." These words made Metellus withdraw for fear, and obtained speedy execution henceforth for all orders that Cæsar gave for procuring necessaries for the war.

*[Cæsar went first to Spain to liquidate senatorial forces there under lieutenants of Pompey. Then back to Rome, down the Ap-pian Way to Brundisium (Brindisi), across the Adriatic (aided by a storm which baffled Pompey's stronger fleet), and ultimately to Pharsalia in Thessaly where, on August 9, 48 B.C., the army of Pompey (and of the legitimate government) was decisively defeated.]*

While the infantry was sharply engaged in the main battle, on the flank Pompey's horse rode up confidently, and opened their ranks very wide, that they might surround the right wing of Cæsar. But before they engaged, Cæsar's cohorts rushed out and attacked them, and did not dart their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the thighs and legs,

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as they usually did in close battle, but aimed at their faces. For thus Cæsar had instructed them, in hopes that young gentlemen who had not known much of battles and wounds, but came wearing their hair long, in the flower of their age and height of their beauty, would be more apprehensive of such blows, and not care for hazarding both a danger at present and a blemish for the future. And so it proved, for they were so far from bearing the stroke of the javelins that they could not stand the sight of them, but turned about, and covered their faces to secure them.

Once in disorder, presently they turned about to fly; and so most shamefully ruined all. For those who had beat them back at once outflanked the infantry, and falling on their rear, cut them to pieces. Pompey, who commanded the other wing of the army, when he saw his cavalry thus broken and flying, was no longer himself, nor did he now remember that he was Pompey the Great, but, like one whom some god had deprived of his senses, retired to his tent without speaking a word, and there sat, till the whole army was routed and the enemy appeared upon the works which were thrown up before the camp, where they closely engaged with his men who were posted there to defend it.

Then first he seemed to have recovered his senses, and uttering, it is said, only these words, "What, into the camp too?" he laid aside his general's habit, and putting on such clothes as might best favor his flight, stole off. He took shelter in Egypt, and was murdered there.

Cæsar, when he came to view Pompey's camp, and saw some of his opponents dead upon the ground, others dying, said, with a groan, "This they would have; they brought me to this necessity. I, Caius Cæsar, after succeeding in so many wars, had been condemned had I dismissed my army." Those who were killed at the taking of the camp were most of them servants; not above six thousand soldiers fell. Cæsar incorporated most of the infantry whom he took prisoners with his own legions, and gave a free pardon to many of the distinguished persons, and amongst the rest to Brutus, who afterwards killed him.

*[Cæsar followed Pompey to Egypt (then an independent nation) and there became involved in a struggle between the boy-king Ptolemy and his half-sister and official wife, Cleopatra, which was complicated by a conniving prime minister, the eunuch Pothinus.]*

It was he who had lately killed Pompey, who had banished Cleopatra, and was now secretly plotting Cæsar's destruction (to prevent

which, Cæsar from that time began to sit up whole nights, under pretense of drinking, for the security of his person), while openly he was intolerable in his affronts to Cæsar, both by his words and actions.

Cleopatra took a small boat, and one only of her confidants, Apollodorus, the Sicilian, along with her, and in the dusk of the evening landed near Cæsar's palace. She was at a loss how to get in undiscovered, till she thought of putting herself into the coverlet of a bed and lying at length, while Apollodorus tied up the bedding and carried it on his back through the gates to Cæsar's apartment. Cæsar was first captivated by this proof of Cleopatra's bold wit, and was afterwards so overcome by the charm of her society that he made a reconciliation between her and her brother, on the condition that she should rule as his colleague in the kingdom.

A festival was kept to celebrate this reconciliation, where Cæsar's barber, a busy listening fellow, discovered that there was a plot carrying on against Cæsar by Achilles, general of the king's forces, and Pothinus, the eunuch. Cæsar, upon the first intelligence of it, set a guard upon the hall where the feast was kept and killed Pothinus. Achilles escaped to the army, and raised a troublesome and embarrassing war against Cæsar, which it was not easy for him to manage with his few soldiers against so powerful a city and so large an army.

The first difficulty he met with was want of water, for the enemies had turned the canals. Another was, when the enemy endeavored to cut off his communication by sea, he was forced to divert that danger by setting fire to his own ships, which, after burning the docks, thence spread on and destroyed the great library. A third was, when in an engagement near Pharos, he leaped from the mole into a small boat to assist his soldiers who were in danger, and when the Egyptians pressed him on every side, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty swam off. This was the time when, according to the story, he had a number of manuscripts in his hand, which, though he was continually darted at, and forced to keep his head often under water, yet he did not let go, but held them up safe from wetting in one hand, while he swam with the other.

At last, the king having gone off to Achilles and his party, Cæsar engaged and conquered them. Many fell in that battle, and the king himself was never seen after. Upon this, he left Cleopatra queen of Egypt, who soon after had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsarion, and then departed for Syria. [*At this time Cæsar was fifty-two, Cleopatra twenty.*]

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Thence he passed to Asia, where he heard that Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, already master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, had a further design of attempting the Lesser Armenia, and was inviting all the kings and tetrarchs there to rise. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, fought him near Zela, drove him out of Pontus, and totally defeated his army. When he gave Amantius, a friend of his at Rome, an account of this action, to express the promptness and rapidity of it he used three words "*Veni, vidi, vici*" (I came, I saw, I conquered), which in Latin, having all the same cadence, carry with them a very suitable air of brevity.

*[With an almost equally swift campaign in North Africa, Cæsar disposed of the senatorial forces there led by Cato, Scipio, and the King of Numidia.]*

Cæsar, upon his return to Rome, did not omit to pronounce before the people a magnificent account of his victory, telling them that he had subdued a country which would supply the public every year with two hundred thousand attic bushels of grain and three million pounds' weight of oil. He then led three triumphs for Egypt, Pontus, and Africa, the last for the victory over, not Scipio, but King Juba, as it was professed, whose little son was then carried in the triumph.

After the triumphs, he distributed rewards to his soldiers, and treated the people with feasting and shows. He entertained the whole people together at one feast, where twenty-two thousand dining couches were laid out; and he made a display of gladiators, and of battles by sea, in honor, as he said, of his daughter Julia, though she had been long since dead. When these shows were over, an account was taken of the people who, from three hundred and twenty thousand, were now reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand. So great a waste had the civil war made in Rome alone, not to mention what the other parts of Italy and the provinces suffered.

He was now chosen a fourth time consul [46 B.C.], and went into Spain against Pompey's sons. They were but young, yet had gathered together a very numerous army, and showed they had courage and conduct to command it, so that Cæsar was in extreme danger. The great battle was near the town of Munda, in which Cæsar, seeing his men hard pressed, and making but a weak resistance, ran through the ranks among the soldiers, and crying out, asked them whether they were not ashamed to deliver him into the hands of boys? At last, with great difficulty, and the best efforts he could make, he forced



back the enemy, killing thirty thousand of them, though with the loss of one thousand of his best men. When he came back from the fight, he told his friends that he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time he had ever fought for life.

His countrymen, conceding all to his fortune, and accepting the bit, in the hope that the government of a single person would give them time to breathe after so many civil wars and calamities, made him dictator for life. This was indeed a tyranny avowed, since his power now was not only absolute, but perpetual too. Cicero made the first proposals to the senate for conferring honors upon him, which might in some sort be said not to exceed the limits of ordinary human moderation. But others, competing for attention, carried them excessively high by the pretensions and extravagance of the titles which they decreed him. His enemies, too, are thought to have had some share in this, as well as his flatterers. It gave them advantage against him, and would be their justification for any attempt they should make upon him.

They had good reason to decree a temple to Clemency, in token of their thanks for the mild use he made of his victory. For he not only pardoned many of those who fought against him, but, further, to some gave honors and offices; as particularly to Brutus and Cassius, who both of them were prætors. Pompey's images that were thrown down he set up again, upon which Cicero also said that by raising Pompey's statues he had fixed his own. When his friends advised him to have a guard, and several offered their services, he would not hear of it; but said it was better to suffer death once than always to live in fear of it. He looked upon the affections of the people to be the best and surest guard, and entertained them again with public feasting and general distributions of grain; and to gratify his army, he sent out colonies to several places, of which the most remarkable were Carthage and Corinth.

As for the men of high rank, he promised to some of them future consulships and prætorships, some he consoled with other offices and honors, and to all held out hopes of favor by the solicitude he showed to rule with the general good-will.

Cæsar was born to do great things, and had a passion after honor, and the many noble exploits he had done did not now serve as an inducement to him to sit still and reap the fruit of his past labors, but were incentives and encouragements to go on, and raised in him ideas of still greater actions, and a desire of new glory, as if the present were

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all spent. It was in fact a sort of competition with himself, as it had been with another, how he might outdo his past actions by his future.

In pursuit of these thoughts, he resolved to make war upon the Parthians, and when he had subdued them, to pass through Hyrcania; thence to march along by the Caspian Sea to Mount Caucasus, and so on about Pontus, till he came into Scythia [*the Ukraine*]; then to overrun all the countries bordering upon Germany, and Germany itself; and so to return through Gaul into Italy, after completing the whole circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every side by the ocean. While preparations were making for this expedition, he proposed to dig through the isthmus on which Corinth stands; and appointed Anienus to superintend the work.

He had also a design of diverting the Tiber, and carrying it by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circeii, and so into the sea near Tarracina, that there might be a safe and easy passage for merchants. Besides this, he intended to drain all the marshes by Pomentium and Setia, and gain ground enough from the water to employ many thousands of men in tillage. He proposed further to make great mounds on the shore nearest Rome, to hinder the sea from breaking in upon the land, to clear the coast at Ostia of all the hidden rocks and shoals that made it unsafe for shipping and to form ports and harbors fit to receive the large number of vessels that would frequent them.

These things were designed without being carried into effect; but his reformation of the calendar in order to rectify the irregularity of time was not only projected with great scientific ingenuity, but was brought to its completion, and proved of very great use.

But that which brought upon him the most apparent and mortal hatred was his desire of being king; which gave the common people the first occasion to quarrel with him, and proved the most specious pretense to those who had been his secret enemies all along. Those who would have procured him that title gave it out that it was foretold in the Sibyls' books that the Romans should conquer the Parthians when they fought against them under the conduct of a king, but not before.

The Lupercalia were then celebrated, a feast belonging, as some writers say, to the shepherds. Many young noblemen and magistrates run up and down the city with their upper garments off, striking all they meet with thongs of hide, by way of sport; and many women, even of the highest rank, place themselves in the way, and hold out their hands to the lash, as boys in a school do to the master, out of a

belief that it procures an easy labor to those who are with child, and makes those conceive who are barren.

Cæsar, dressed in a triumphal robe, seated himself in a golden chair at the rostra to view this ceremony. Antony, as consul, was one of those who ran this course, and when he came into the forum, and the people made way for him, he went up and reached to Cæsar a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this there was a shout, but only a slight one, made by the few who were planted there for that purpose; but when Cæsar refused it, there was universal applause. Upon the second offer, very few, and upon the second refusal, all again applauded. Cæsar finding it would not take, rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol.

This made the multitude turn their thoughts to Marcus Brutus, who, by his father's side, was thought to be descended from that first Brutus, and by his mother's side from the Servilii, another noble family, being besides nephew and son-in-law to Cato. But the honors and favors he had received from Cæsar took off the edge from the desires he might himself have felt for overthrowing the new monarchy. For he had not only been pardoned himself after Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia, and had procured the same grace for many of his friends, but was one in whom Cæsar had a particular confidence. He had at that time the most honorable prætorship for the year, and was named for the consulship four years after.

Those who desired a change, and looked on him as the only, or at least the most proper, person to effect it, did not venture to speak with him; but in the night-time laid papers about his chair of state, where he used to sit and determine causes, with such sentences in them as, "You are asleep, Brutus," "You are no longer Brutus." Cassius, when he perceived his ambition a little raised upon this, was more instant than before to work him yet further, having himself a private grudge against Cæsar for some reasons that we have mentioned in the Life of Brutus. Nor was Cæsar without suspicions of him, and said once to his friends, "What do you think Cassius is aiming at? I don't like him, he looks so pale." And when it was told him that Antony and Dolabella were in a plot against him, he said he did not fear such fat, luxurious men, but rather the pale, lean fellows, meaning Cassius and Brutus.

Fate, however, is to all appearance more unavoidable than unexpected. For many strange prodigies and apparitions are said to have been observed shortly before this event. One finds it also related by

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many that a soothsayer bade him prepare for some great danger on the Ides of March. When this day was come, Cæsar, as he went to the senate, met this soothsayer, and said to him by way of raillery, "The Ides of March are come," who answered him calmly, "Yes, they are come, but they are not past." The day before his assassination he supped with Marcus Lepidus; and as he was signing some letters according to his custom, as he reclined at table, there arose a question what sort of death was the best. At which he immediately, before any-one could speak, said, "A sudden one."

All these things might happen by chance. But the place which was destined for the scene of this murder, in which the senate met that day, was the same in which Pompey's statue stood, plainly showing that there was something of a supernatural influence which guided the action and ordered it to that particular place. Cassius, just before the act, is said to have looked towards Pompey's statue, and silently implored his assistance. As for Antony, who was firm to Cæsar, and a strong man, Brutus Albinus kept him outside the house, and delayed him with a long conversation contrived on purpose.

When Cæsar entered, the senate stood up to show their respect to him, and of Brutus's confederates, some came about his chair and stood behind it, others met him, pretending to add their petitions to those of Tillius Cimber, in behalf of his brother, who was in exile; and they followed him with their joint applications till he came to his seat. When he was sat down, he refused to comply with their requests, and upon their urging him further began to reproach them severely for their importunities, when Tillius, laying hold of his robe with both his hands, pulled it down from his neck, which was the signal for the assault.

Casca gave him the first cut in the neck, which was not mortal nor dangerous, as coming from one who at the beginning of such a bold action was probably very much disturbed; Cæsar immediately turned about, and laid his hand upon the dagger and kept hold of it. And both of them at the same time cried out, he that received the blow, in Latin, "Vile Casca, what does this mean?" and he that gave it, in Greek to his brother, "Brother, help!"

Upon this first onset, those who were not privy to the design were astonished, and their horror and amazement at what they saw were so great that they dared not fly nor assist Cæsar, nor so much as speak a word. But those who came prepared for the business enclosed him on every side, with their naked daggers in their hands. Which way

soever he turned he met with blows, and saw their swords leveled at his face and eyes, and was encompassed like a wild beast in the toils on every side. For it had been agreed they should each of them make a thrust at him, and flesh themselves with his blood; for which reason Brutus also gave him one stab in the groin.

Some say that he fought and resisted all the rest, shifting his body to avoid the blows, and calling out for help, but that when he saw Brutus's sword drawn, he covered his face with his robe and submitted, letting himself fall, whether it were by chance or that he was pushed in that direction by his murderers, at the foot of the pedestal on which Pompey's statue stood, and which was thus wetted with his blood. So that Pompey himself seemed to have presided, as it were, over the revenge done upon his adversary, who lay here at his feet, and breathed out his soul through his multitude of wounds, for they say he received three-and-twenty. And the conspirators themselves were many of them wounded by each other, while they all leveled their blows at the same person.

The day after, Brutus with the rest came down from the capitol and made a speech to the people, who listened without expressing either any pleasure or resentment, but showed by their silence that they pitied Cæsar and respected Brutus. The senate passed acts of oblivion for what was past, and took measures to reconcile all parties. They ordered that Cæsar should be worshiped as a divinity, and nothing, even of the slightest consequence, should be revoked which he had enacted during his government. At the same time they gave Brutus and his followers the command of provinces, and other considerable posts. So that all the people now thought things were well settled, and brought to the happiest adjustment.

But when Cæsar's will was opened, and it was found that he had left a considerable legacy to each one of the Roman citizens, and when his body was seen carried through the market-place all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer contain themselves within the bounds of tranquillity and order, but heaped together a pile of benches, bars, and tables, which they placed the corpse on, and setting fire to it, burnt it on them. Then they took brands from the pile and ran some to fire the houses of the conspirators, others up and down the city, to find out the men and tear them to pieces, but met, however, with none of them, they having taken effectual care to secure themselves.

Brutus and Cassius, frightened at this, within a few days retired out

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of the city. Cæsar died in his fifty-sixth year, not having survived Pompey above four years. That empire and power which he had pursued through the whole course of his life with so much hazard, he did at last with much difficulty compass, but reaped no other fruits from it than the empty name and invidious glory. But the great genius which attended him through his lifetime even after his death remained as the avenger of his murder, pursuing through every sea and land all those who were concerned in it, and suffering none to escape.

### MARCUS ANTONIUS (83–30 B.C.)

#### *A Comment on ANTONY*

*[Perhaps the most romantic drama in all history is the life of Marc Antony, who might have ruled the world had he not met and fallen under the spell of Cleopatra.]*

MARC ANTONY had a very good and noble appearance; his beard was well grown, his forehead large, and his nose aquiline, giving him altogether a bold, masculine look that reminded people of the faces of Hercules in paintings and sculptures. It was, moreover, an ancient tradition that the Antonys were descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Anton; and this opinion he thought to give credit to by the similarity of his person just mentioned, and also by the fashion of his dress. For, whenever he had to appear before large numbers, he wore his tunic girt low about the hips, a broadsword on his side, and over all a large coarse mantle.

What might seem to some very insupportable, his vaunting, his raillery, his drinking in public, sitting down by the men as they were taking their food, and eating, as he stood, off the common soldiers' tables, made him the delight and pleasure of the army. In love affairs, also, he was very agreeable: he gained many friends by the assistance he gave them in theirs, and took other people's raillery upon his own with good humor. And his generous ways, his open and lavish hand in gifts and favors to his friends and fellow-soldiers, did a great deal for him in his first advance to power, and after he had become great, long maintained his fortunes, when a thousand follies were hastening their overthrow.

*Translated by John Dryden*

*[When he was twenty-five (58 B.C.) he distinguished himself as a cavalry commander under the proconsul Gabinius in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In 54 B.C. he went to serve with Cæsar in Gaul, and two years later obtained the post of quæstor. During Cæsar's struggle with Pompey, Antony was Cæsar's chief lieutenant, first in political maneuvers in the senate, finally at the battle of Pharsalia (49 B.C.). After Cæsar's assassination, Antony became for some months the absolute ruler of the Roman state.]*

When Cæsar had fallen in the senate house, Antony, at the first moment, took a servant's dress, and hid himself. But, understanding that the conspirators had assembled in the capitol, and had no further design upon anyone, he persuaded them to come down, giving them his son as a hostage. That night Cassius supped at Antony's house, and Brutus with Lepidus. Antony then convened the senate, and spoke in favor of an act of oblivion, and the appointment of Brutus and Cassius to provinces. These measures the senate passed; and resolved that all Cæsar's acts should remain in force. Thus Antony went out of the senate with the highest possible reputation and esteem; for it was apparent that he had prevented a civil war, and had composed, in the wisest and most statesmanlike way, questions of the greatest difficulty and embarrassment. But these temperate counsels were soon swept away by the tide of popular applause, and the prospect, if Brutus were overthrown, of being without doubt the ruler-in-chief.

As Cæsar's body was being conveyed to the tomb, Antony, according to the custom, was making his funeral oration in the market-place, and perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he had said, he began to mingle with his praises language of commiseration, and horror at what had happened, and, as he was ending his speech, he took the under-clothes of the dead, and held them up, showing them stains of blood and the holes of the many stabs, calling those that had done this act villains and bloody murderers. All which excited the people to such indignation that they would not defer the funeral, but, making a pile of tables and forms in the very market-place, set fire to it; and everyone, taking a brand, ran to the conspirators' houses, to attack them.

Upon this, Brutus and his whole party left the city, and Cæsar's friends joined themselves to Antony. Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, lodged with him the best part of the property to the value of four thousand

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talents; he got also into his hands all Cæsar's papers wherein were contained journals of all he had done, and drafts of what he designed to do, which Antony made good use of; for by this means he appointed what magistrates he pleased, brought whom he would into the senate, recalled some from exile, freed others out of prison, and all this as ordered so by Cæsar. In short, Antony's behavior in Rome was very autocratic, he himself being consul and his two brothers having important positions, Caius, being prætor, and Lucius, tribune of the people.

While matters went thus in Rome, the young Octavius Cæsar, Cæsar's niece's son, and by testament left his heir, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he was when his uncle was killed. The first thing he did was to visit Anthony, as his father's friend. He spoke to him concerning the money that was in his hands, and reminded him of the legacy Cæsar had made of seventy-five drachmas to every Roman citizen. Antony, at first, laughing at such discourse from so young a man, told him the burden of being executor to Cæsar would sit very uneasy upon his young shoulders.

When he persisted in demanding the property, Antony went on treating him injuriously both in word and deed, opposed him when he stood for the tribune's office, and, when he was taking steps for the dedication of his father's golden chair, as had been enacted, he threatened to send him to prison if he did not give over soliciting the people. This made the young Octavius apply himself to Cicero, and all those that hated Antony. By them he was recommended to the senate, while he himself courted the people, and drew together the soldiers from their settlements, till Antony got alarmed.

*[After a losing battle with senatorial forces near Modena, Antony fled over the Alps to the legions in Gaul under Lepidus, enlisted their support, and came back into Italy, to make a deal with Octavius known as the Second Triumvirate.]*

They met together with Lepidus in a small island, where the conference lasted three days. The empire was soon determined of, being divided amongst them as if it had been their paternal inheritance.

That which gave them all the trouble was to agree who should be put to death, each of them desiring to destroy his enemies and to save his friends. But, in the end, animosity to those they hated carried the day against respect for relations and affection for friends; and Octavius sacrificed Cicero to Antony, Antony gave up his uncle Lucius



*Translated by John Dryden*

Cæsar, and Lepidus received permission to murder his brother Paulus. To complete the reconciliation, the soldiery demanded that confirmation should be given to it by some alliance of marriage; Octavius should marry Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia, wife to Antony. This also being agreed to, three hundred persons were put to death by proscription.

*[At the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.) the twenty-one-year-old Octavius remained in his tent, so sick that he was thought to be dying, while Antony defeated first Cassius, then Brutus. Thereafter he set sail to his new command in the east, with its rich possibilities of profitable conquest.]*

Leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he crossed over into Asia, and there laid his hands on the stores of accumulated wealth, while kings waited at his door, and queens were rivaling one another, who should make him the greatest presents or appear most charming in his eyes. Thus, while Octavius in Rome was wearing out his strength amidst seditions and wars, Antony, with nothing to do amidst the enjoyments of peace, let his passions carry him easily back to the old course of life that was familiar to him. A set of harpers and pipers, the dancing-man, Metrodorus, and a whole Bacchic rout of the like Asiatic exhibitors, far outdoing in license and buffoonery the pests that had followed him out of Italy, came in and possessed the court.

When he made his entry into Ephesus, the women met him dressed up like Bacchantes, and the men and boys like satyrs and fauns, and throughout the town nothing was to be seen but spears wreathed about with ivy, harps, flutes, and psalteries, while Antony in their songs was Bacchus, the Giver of Joy, and the Gentle. And so indeed he was to some but to far more the Devourer and the Savage; for he would deprive persons of worth and quality of their fortunes to gratify villains and flatterers, who would sometimes beg the estates of men yet living, pretending they were dead, and, obtaining a grant, take possession. He gave his cook the house of a Magnesian citizen, as a reward for a single highly successful supper. Antony was simply ignorant of most things that were done in his name; not that he was so indolent, as he was prone to trust frankly in all about him. For there was much simplicity in his character; he was slow to see his faults, but when he did see them, was extremely repentant, and ready to ask pardon of those he had injured; prodigal in his acts of reparation, and severe in his punishments, but his generosity was much more extravagant than his

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severity; his raillery was sharp and insulting, but the edge of it was taken off by his readiness to submit to any kind of repartee. This freedom of speech was, indeed, the cause of many of his disasters. He never imagined those who used so much liberty in their mirth would flatter or deceive him in business of consequence, not knowing how common it is with parasites to mix their flattery with boldness, as confectioners do their sweetmeats with something biting, to prevent the sense of satiety.

When making preparation for the Parthian war, he sent to command Cleopatra to make her personal appearance in Silicia, to answer an accusation that she had given great assistance, in the late wars, to Cassius. Dellius, who was sent on this message, had no sooner seen her face and remarked her adroitness and subtlety in speech, but he felt convinced that Antony would not so much as think of giving any molestation to a woman like this; on the contrary, she would be the first in favor with him.

So he set himself at once to pay his court to the Egyptian, and gave her his advice, "to go in her best attire," and fear nothing from Antony, the gentlest and kindest of soldiers. She had some faith in the words of Dellius, but more in her own attractions; which, having formerly recommended her to Cæsar and the young Cnæus Pompey, she did not doubt might prove yet more successful with Antony. Their acquaintance was with her when a girl, young and ignorant of the world, but she was to meet Antony in the time of life when women's beauty is most splendid, and their intellects are in full maturity. [*She was then twenty-seven years of age, Antony was forty-one.*]

She received several letters, both from Antony and from his friends, to summon her, but she took no account of these orders; and at last, as if in mockery of them, she came sailing up the river Cydnus, in a barge with gilded stern and outspread sails of purple, while oars of silver beat time to the music of flutes and fifes and harps. She herself lay under a canopy of cloth of gold, dressed as Venus in a picture, and beautiful young boys, like painted Cupids, stood on each side to fan her. Her maids were dressed like sea nymphs and graces, some steering at the rudder, some working at the ropes. The perfumes diffused themselves from the vessel to the shore, which was covered with multitudes, part following the galley up the river on either bank, part running out of the city to see the sight.

The market-place was quite emptied, and Antony at last was left alone sitting upon the tribunal; while the word went through all the

multitude, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the common good of Asia. On her arrival, Antony sent to invite her to supper. She thought it fitter he should come to her; so, willing to show his good humor and courtesy, he complied, and went. He found the preparations to receive him magnificent beyond expression, but nothing so admirable as the great number of lights; for on a sudden there was let down altogether so great a number of branches with lights in them so ingeniously disposed, some in squares, and some in circles, that the whole thing was a spectacle that has seldom been equalled for beauty.

The next day Antony invited her to supper, and hoped to outdo her as well in magnificence as contrivance; but he found he was altogether beaten in both, and was so well convinced of it that he was himself the first to jest and mock at his poverty of wit and his rustic awkwardness. She, perceiving that his raillery was broad and gross, and savored more of the soldier than the courtier, rejoined in the same taste, and fell into it at once, without any sort of reluctance or reserve.

For her actual beauty, it is said, was not in itself so remarkable that none could be compared with her, or that no one could see her without being struck by it, but the contact of her presence, if you lived with her, was irresistible; the attraction of her person, joining with the charm of her conversation, and the character that attended all she said or did, was something bewitching. It was a pleasure merely to hear the sound of her voice, with which, like an instrument of many strings, she could pass from one language to another. There were few of the barbarian nations that she answered by an interpreter; to most of them she spoke herself, as to the Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, and many others, whose language she had learnt.

Antony was so captivated by her that, while Fulvia his wife maintained his quarrels in Rome against Octavius by actual force of arms, and the Parthian troops were assembled in Mesopotamia, and ready to enter Syria, he could yet suffer himself to be carried away by her to Alexandria, there to keep holiday, like a boy, in play and diversion, squandering and fooling away in enjoyments that most costly, as Antiphon says, of all valuables, time. They had a sort of company, to which they gave a particular name, calling it that of the Inimitable Livers. The members entertained one another daily in turn, with an extravagance of expenditure beyond measure or belief.

Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time a student of medicine in Alexandria, used to tell my grandfather Lamprias that,

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having some acquaintance with one of the royal cooks, he was invited by him, being a young man, to come and see the sumptuous preparations for supper. So he was taken into the kitchen, where he admired the prodigious variety of all things; but particularly, seeing eight wild boars roasting whole, says he, "Surely you have a great number of guests." The cook laughed at his simplicity, and told him there were not above twelve to sup, but that every dish was to be served up just roasted to a turn, and if anything was but one minute ill-timed, it was spoiled. "And," said he, "maybe Antony will sup just now, maybe not this hour, maybe he will call for wine, or begin to talk, and will put it off. So that," he continued, "it is not one, but many suppers must be had in readiness, as it is impossible to guess at his hour."

To return to Cleopatra; Plato admits four sorts of flattery, but she had a thousand. Were Antony serious or disposed to mirth, she had at any moment some new delight or charm to meet his wishes; at every turn she was upon him, and let him escape her neither by day nor by night. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him; and when he exercised in arms, she was there to see. At night she would go rambling with him to disturb and torment people at their doors and windows, dressed like a servant-woman, for Antony also went in servant's disguise, and from these expeditions he often came home very scurvily answered, and sometimes even beaten severely, though most people guessed who it was. However, the Alexandrians in general liked it all well enough, and joined good-humoredly and kindly in his frolic and play, saying they were much obliged to Antony for acting his tragic parts at Rome, and keeping his comedy for them.

His fishing must not be forgotten. He went out one day to angle with Cleopatra, and, being so unfortunate as to catch nothing in the presence of his mistress, he gave secret orders to the fishermen to dive under water, and put fishes that had been already taken upon his hooks; and these he drew so fast that the Egyptian perceived it. But, feigning great admiration, she told everybody how dexterous Antony was, and invited them next day to come and see him again. So, when a number of them had come on board the fishing-boats, as soon as he had let down his hook, one of her servants was beforehand with his divers, and fixed upon his hook a salted fish from Pontus. Antony, feeling his line give, drew up the prey, and when, as may be imagined, great laughter ensued, "Leave," said Cleopatra, "the fishing-rod, general, to us poor sovereigns of Pharos and Canopus; your game is cities, provinces, and kingdoms."

*Translated by John Dryden*

*[Meanwhile, in Italy, Antony's ambitious, restless wife, Fulvia, had tried vainly to upset Octavius, had fled to Greece, and there had died. To smooth things over Antony returned to Rome, made a new agreement with Octavius (40 B.C.), and cemented it by marrying the latter's half-sister Octavia, "quite a wonder of a woman," by whom he had two daughters. Then in 37 B.C. he returned to the East, to his long-projected conquest of Parthia, and to Cleopatra.*

*Antony marched against Parthia with 100,000 men; but the Parthians avoided a pitched battle, harried his forces with guerilla tactics marked by cavalry raids and sudden clouds of arrows, and compelled retreat to the coast as winter came on.]*

Antony, making a review of his army, found that he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, of which the better half perished, not by the enemy, but by diseases. Their march was of twenty-seven days from Phraata, during which they had beaten the Parthians in eighteen battles, though with little effect or lasting result, because of their being so unable to pursue.

Marching his army in great haste in the depth of winter through continual storms of snow, he lost eight thousand of his men, and came with much diminished numbers to a place called the White Village, between Sidon and Beirut, on the sea-coast, where he waited for the arrival of Cleopatra. And, being impatient of the delay she made, he bethought himself of shortening the time in wine and drunkenness, and yet could not endure the tediousness of a meal, but would start from table and run to see if she were coming. Till at last she came into port, and brought with her clothes and money for the soldiers. Octavia, in Rome, being desirous to see Antony, asked Octavius' leave to go to him; which he gave her, not so much, say most authors, to gratify his sister, as to obtain a fair pretense to begin the war upon her dishonorable reception. She no sooner arrived at Athens, but by letters from Antony she was told that she should await him there.

Cleopatra, feeling her rival already, as it were, at hand, was seized with fear. So she feigned to be dying for love of Antony, bringing her body down by slender diet; when he entered the room, she fixed her eyes upon him in a rapture, and when he left, seemed to languish and half faint away. She took great pains that he should see her in tears, and, as soon as he noticed it, hastily dried them up and turned away, as if it were her wish that he should know nothing of it. Cleopatra's creatures were not slow to forward the design, upbraiding Antony with

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his unfeeling, hard-hearted temper, thus letting a woman perish whose soul depended upon him and him alone.

*[Consequently Antony went back to Egypt with Cleopatra, and Octavia returned to Rome. This caused a definite break between the two partners in dictatorship, and soon the propaganda mills were grinding out fuel for the flames of war.]*

Octavius Cæsar, often complaining to the people, excited men's minds against Antony, and Antony also sent messages of accusation against Octavius. The principle of his charges were these: first, that he had not made any division with him of Sicily, which had been taken from Pompey; secondly, that he had retained the ships he had lent him for the war; thirdly, that, after deposing Lepidus, their colleague, he had taken for himself the army, governments, and revenues formerly appropriated to him; and lastly, that he had parceled out almost all Italy amongst his own soldiers, and left nothing for his.

Cæsar's (Octavius') answer was as follows: that he had put Lepidus out of government because of his own misconduct; that what he had got in war he would divide with Antony, as soon as Antony gave him a share of Armenia; that Antony's soldiers had no claims in Italy, being in possession of Media and Parthia, the acquisitions which their brave actions under their general had added to the Roman empire.

Antony was in Armenia when this answer came to him, and immediately sent Canidius with sixteen legions towards the sea; but he, in the company of Cleopatra, went to Ephesus, whither ships were coming in from all quarters to form the navy, consisting, vessels of burden included, of eight hundred vessels, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred, together with twenty thousand talents, and provision for the whole army during the war. When all their forces had met, they sailed together to Samos, and held high festivities. For, as it was ordered that all kings, princes, and governors, all nations and cities within the limits of Syria, the Mæotid Lake, Armenia, and Illyria, should bring or cause to be brought all munitions necessary for war, so was it also proclaimed that all stage-players should make their appearance at Samos; so that, while pretty nearly the whole world was filled with groans and lamentations, this one island for some days resounded with piping and harping, theaters filling, and choruses playing. Every city sent an ox as its contribution to the sacrifice, and the kings that accompanied Antony competed who should make the most

magnificent feasts and the greatest presents; and men began to ask themselves, what would be done to celebrate the victory, when they went to such an expense of festivity at the opening of the war.

The speed and extent of Antony's preparations alarmed Cæsar, who feared he might be forced to fight the decisive battle that summer. For he lacked many necessities, and the people grudged very much to pay the taxes; freemen being called upon to pay a fourth part of their incomes, and freed slaves an eighth of their property, so that there were loud outcries against him, and disturbances throughout all Italy. And this is looked upon as one of the greatest of Antony's oversights, that he did not then press the war. For he allowed time for Cæsar to make his preparations and for the commotions to pass over.

Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity and friends to Antony, having been ill-used by Cleopatra, whom they had most resisted in her design of being present in the war, came over to Octavius and gave information of the contents of Antony's will, with which they were acquainted. It was deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins, who refused to deliver it up, and sent Octavius word that if he pleased, he should come and seize it himself, which he did. Reading it over to himself, he noted those places that were most for his purpose, and, having summoned the senate, read them publicly. Octavius specially pressed what Antony said in his will about his burial; for he had ordered that even if he died in the city of Rome, his body, after being carried in state through the forum, should be sent to Cleopatra at Alexandria. Calvisius urged other charges in connection with Cleopatra against Antony; that he had given her the library of Pergamus, containing two hundred thousand distinct volumes; that at a great banquet, in the presence of many guests, he had risen up and rubbed her feet, to fulfil some wager or promise; that he had frequently at the public audience of kings and princes received amorous messages written in tablets made of onyx and crystal, and read them openly on the tribunal; that when Furnius, a man of great authority and eloquence among the Romans, was pleading, Cleopatra happening to pass by in her chair, Antony started up and left them in the middle of their cause, to follow at her side and attend her home.

As soon as Octavius Cæsar had completed his preparations, he had a decree made declaring war on Cleopatra, and depriving Antony of the authority which he had let a woman exercise in his place. Cæsar added that he had drunk potions that had bereaved him of his senses, and that the generals they would have to fight with would be Mardion

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the eunuch, Pothinus, Iras, Cleopatra's hairdressing girl, and Charmion, who were Antony's chief state-councillors.

When the armaments gathered for the war, Antony had no less than five hundred ships of war, including numerous galleys of eight and ten banks of oars, as richly ornamented as if they were meant for a triumph. He had a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse.

Octavius had two hundred and fifty galleys of war, eighty thousand foot, and horse about equal to the enemy. Antony's empire extended from Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian Sea and the Illyrians; Cæsar's, from Illyria to the westward ocean, and from the ocean all along the Tuscan and Sicilian Sea. Of Africa, Octavius had all the coast opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and Antony the provinces from Cyrene to Æthiopia.

But so wholly was Antony now the mere appendage to the person of Cleopatra that, although he was much superior to the enemy in land forces, yet, out of complaisance to his mistress, he wished the victory to be gained by sea, and that, too, when he could not but see how, for want of sailors, his captains, all through unhappy Greece, were pressing every description of men, common travelers and ass-drivers, harvest laborers and boys. For all this the vessels had not their complements, but remained, most of them, ill-manned and badly rowed.

Octavius Cæsar, on the other side, had ships that were built not for size or show, but for service, not pompous galleys, but light, swift, and perfectly manned; and from his headquarters at Tarentum and Brundisium [*Brindisi*] he sent messages to Antony not to protract the war, but come out with his forces; he would give him secure roadsteads and ports for his fleet, and, for his land army to disembark and pitch their camp, he would leave him as much ground in Italy, inland from the sea, as a horse could traverse in a single course. Antony, on the other side, with the like bold language, challenged him to a single combat, though he were much the older; and, that being refused, proposed to meet him in the Pharsalian fields, where Julius Cæsar and Pompey had fought before. But while Antony lay with his fleet near Actium, where now stands Nicopolis, Octavius seized his opportunity and crossed the Ionian Sea.

When it was resolved to stand to a fight at sea, they set fire to all the Egyptian ships except sixty; and of these the best and largest, from ten banks down to three, he manned with twenty thousand full-armed men and two thousand archers. Here it is related that a foot captain, one that had fought often under Antony, and had his body all mangled



with wounds, exclaimed, "O my general, what have our wounds and swords done to displease you, that you should give your confidence to rotten timbers? Let Egyptians and Phœnicians contend at sea. Give us the land, where we know well how to die upon the spot or gain the victory." To which he answered nothing, but, by his look and motion of his hand seeming to bid him be of good courage, passed forwards, having already, it would seem, no very sure hopes, since when the masters proposed leaving the sails behind them, he commanded they should be put aboard, "For we must not," said he, "let one enemy escape."

That day and the three following the sea was so rough they could not engage. But on the fifth there was a calm, and they fought; Antony commanding with Publicola the right, and Cœlius the left squadron, Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius the center. Octavius Cæsar gave the charge of the left to Agrippa, commanding in person on the right. As for the land forces, Canidius was general for Antony, Taurus for Octavius; both armies remaining drawn up in order along the shore.

Antony in a small boat went from one ship to another, encouraging his soldiers, and bidding them stand firm and fight as steadily on their large ships as if they were on land. He commanded the masters to receive the enemy lying still as if they were at anchor, and maintain the entrance of the port, which was a narrow and difficult passage.

About noon a breeze sprang up from the sea, and Antony's men, weary of expecting the enemy so long, and trusting to their large tall vessels, as if they had been invincible, began to advance the left squadron. Octavius was overjoyed to see them move, and ordered his own right squadron to retire, that he might entice them out to sea as far as he could, his design being to sail round and round, and so with his light and well-manned galleys to attack these huge vessels, which their size and their want of men made slow to move and difficult to manage.

When they engaged, there was no charging or striking of one ship by another, because Antony's, by reason of their great bulk, were incapable of the rapidity required to make the stroke effectual, and on the other side, Cæsar's dared not charge head to head on Antony's, which were all armed with solid masses and spikes of brass; nor did they like even to run in on their sides, which were so strongly built with great squared pieces of timber, fastened together with iron bolts, that their vessels' beaks would easily have been shattered upon them. So that the engagement resembled a land fight, or, to speak yet more

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properly, the attack and defense of a fortified place; for there were always three or four vessels of Cæsar's about one of Antony's, pressing them with spears, javelins, poles, and several inventions of fire, which they flung among them, Antony's men using catapults also, to pour down missiles from wooden towers.

But the fortune of the day was still undecided, and the battle equal, when on a sudden Cleopatra's sixty ships were seen hoisting sail and making out to sea in full flight, right through the ships that were engaged. For they were placed behind the great ships, which, in breaking through, they put into disorder. The enemy was astonished to see them sailing off with a fair wind towards Peloponnesus. Here it was that Antony showed to all the world that he was no longer actuated by the thoughts and motives of a commander or a man, or indeed by his own judgment at all. For, as if he had been born part of her, and must move with her wheresoever she went, as soon as he saw her ship sailing away, he abandoned all that were fighting and spending their lives for him, and put himself aboard a galley of five banks of oars, to follow her that had so well begun his ruin and would hereafter accomplish it.

She, perceiving him to follow, gave the signal to come aboard. So, as soon as he came up with them, he was taken into the ship. But without seeing her or letting himself be seen by her, he went forward by himself, and sat alone, without a word, in the ship's prow, covering his face with his two hands. Thus he remained for three days, either in anger with Cleopatra, or wishing not to upbraid her, at the end of which they touched at Tænarus. Here the women of their company succeeded first in bringing them to speak, and afterwards to eat and sleep together. And, by this time, several ships began to come in to him, bringing news of his fleet's being quite destroyed, but that the land forces, they thought, still stood firm. So that he sent messengers to Canidius to march the army with all speed through Macedonia into Asia.

At Actium, his fleet, after a long resistance to Octavius Cæsar, and suffering the most damage from a heavy sea that set in right ahead, scarcely at four in the afternoon, gave up the contest, with the loss of not more than five thousand killed, but of three hundred ships taken. Only a few had known of Antony's flight; and those who were told of it could not at first give any belief to so incredible a thing as that a general who had nineteen entire legions and twelve thousand horse upon

the seashore, could abandon all and fly away; and he, above all, who had so often experienced both good and evil fortune, and had in a thousand wars and battles been inured to changes.

His soldiers, however, still fancying he would appear from some part or other, showed such a generous fidelity to his service that they kept themselves in a body seven days, making no account of the messages that Cæsar sent to them. But at last, seeing that Canidius himself, who commanded them, was fled from the camp by night, and that all their officers had abandoned them, they gave way, and made their submission to the conqueror.

After this, Octavius set sail for Athens, where he made a settlement with Greece, and distributed what remained of the provision of grain that Antony had made for his army among the cities, which were in a miserable condition, despoiled of their money, their slaves, their horses, and beasts of service. My great-grandfather Nicharchus used to relate that the whole body of the people of our city were put in requisition to carry each one a certain measure of grain upon their shoulders to the seaside near Anticyra, men standing by to quicken them with the lash. They had made one journey of the kind, but when they had just measured out the grain, and were putting it on their backs for a second, news came of Antony's defeat, and so saved Chæronea, for all Antony's purveyors and soldiers fled upon the news, and left them to divide the grain among themselves.

When Antony came into Africa, he sent on Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, and stayed himself in the most entire solitude that he could desire, roaming and wandering about with only two friends.

But when the officer who commanded for him in Africa surrendered to Cæsar, Antony resolved to kill himself, but was hindered by his friends. Coming to Alexandria, he found Cleopatra busied in a most bold and wonderful enterprise. Over the small space of land which divides the Red Sea from the sea near Egypt, Cleopatra had formed a project of dragging her fleet and setting it afloat in the Arabian Gulf, thus with her soldiers and her treasure to secure herself a home on the other side, where she might live in peace far away from war and slavery. But the first galleys which were carried over being burnt by the Arabians of Petra, and Antony not knowing but that the army before Actium still held together, she desisted from her enterprise, and gave orders for the fortifying of all the approaches to Egypt.

But Antony, leaving the city and the conversation of his friends, built him a dwelling-place in the water, near Pharos, upon a little mole

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which he cast up in the sea, and there, secluding himself from the company of mankind, said he desired nothing but to live the life of Timon; as indeed, his case was the same, and the ingratitude and injuries which he suffered from those he had esteemed his friends made him hate and distrust all mankind.

Canidius now came, bringing word in person of the loss of the army before Actium. Then Antony received news that Herod of Judæa was gone over to Cæsar with some legions and cohorts, and that the other kings and princes were in like manner deserting him, and that, out of Egypt, nothing stood by him. All this, however, seemed not to disturb him, but, as if he were glad to put away all hope, that with it he might be rid of all care, and leaving his habitation by the sea, which he called the Timoneum, he was received by Cleopatra in the palace, and set the whole city into a course of feasting, drinking, and presents.

They themselves broke up the Order of the Inimitable Livers, and constituted another in its place, not inferior in splendor, luxury, and sumptuousity, calling it that of the Diers Together. For all those that said they would die with Antony and Cleopatra gave in their names, for the present passing their time in all manner of pleasures and a regular succession of banquets. But Cleopatra was busied in making a collection of all varieties of poisonous drugs, and, in order to see which of them were the least painful in the operation, she had them tried upon prisoners condemned to die. She pretty well satisfied herself that nothing was comparable to the bite of the asp, which, without convulsion or groaning, brought on a heavy drowsiness and lethargy, with a gentle sweat on the face, the senses being stupefied by degrees; the patient, in appearance, being sensible of no pain, but rather troubled to be disturbed or awakened like those that are in a profound natural sleep.

At the same time, they sent ambassadors to Octavius, Cleopatra asking for the kingdom of Egypt for her children, and Antony, that he might have leave to live as a private man in Egypt, or, if that were thought too much, that he might retire to Athens. In lack of friends, so many having deserted, and others not being trusted, Euphronius, his son's tutor, was sent on this embassy.

Octavius would not listen to any proposals for Antony, but he made answer to Cleopatra that there was no reasonable favor which she might not expect, if she put Antony to death, or expelled him from Egypt. He sent back with the ambassadors his own freedman, Thyrus, a man of understanding, and not at all ill-qualified for con-

veying the messages of a youthful general to a woman so proud of her charms and possessed with the opinion of the power of her beauty. But by the long audiences he received from her, and the special honors which she paid him, Antony's jealousy began to be awakened; he had him seized, whipped, and sent back. Cleopatra, after this, to clear herself, and to allay his jealousies, paid him all the attentions imaginable. When her own birthday came, she kept it as was suitable to their fallen fortunes; but his was observed with the utmost prodigality of splendor and magnificence, so that many of the guests sat down in want, and went home wealthy men.

And so the war was deferred for a season. But, the winter being over, Octavius began his march, he himself by Syria, and his captains through Africa. Cleopatra had caused to be built, joining to the temple of Isis, several tombs and monuments of wonderful height, and very remarkable for the workmanship; thither she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, cinnamon, and, after all, a great quantity of torchwood and tow. Upon which Cæsar began to fear lest she should, in a desperate fit, set all these riches on fire; and, therefore, while he was marching toward Alexandria with his army, he omitted no occasion of giving her new assurances of his good intentions.

He took up his position in the Hippodrome, where Antony made a fierce sally upon him, routed the horse, and beat them back into their trenches, and so returned with great satisfaction to the palace, where, meeting Cleopatra, armed as he was, he kissed her, and commended to her favor one of his men, who had most signalized himself in the fight, to whom she made a present of a breastplate and helmet of gold; which he having received went that very night and deserted to Cæsar.

After this, Antony, considering with himself that he could not die more honorably than in battle, resolved to make an effort both by land and sea. At supper, it is said, he bade his servants help him freely, and pour him out wine plentifully, since to-morrow, perhaps, they should not do the same, but be servants to a new master, while he should lie on the ground, a dead corpse.

As soon as it was light, he marched his infantry out of the city, and posted them upon a rising ground, from whence he saw his fleet make up to the enemy. As soon as the fleets came near to one another, his men saluted Cæsar's with their oars; and on their responding, the whole body of the ships, forming into a single fleet, rowed up direct to the city. Antony had no sooner seen this, but the cavalry deserted him,

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and went over to Octavius; and his infantry being defeated, he retired into the city, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him to the enemies he had made for her sake.

She, being afraid lest in his fury and despair he might do her a mischief, fled to her monument, and letting down the falling doors, which were strong with bars and bolts, she sent messengers to tell Antony she was dead. He, believing it, cried out, "Now, Antony, why delay longer? Fate has snatched away the only pretext for which you could say you desired yet to live."

He had a faithful servant, whose name was Eros; he had engaged him to kill him when he should think it necessary, and now he put him to his promise. Eros drew his sword, as designing to kill him, but, suddenly turning round, he slew himself. And as he fell dead at his feet, "It is well done, Eros," said Antony; "you show your master how to do what you had not the heart to do yourself"; and so he ran himself into the belly, and laid himself upon the couch. The wound, however, was not immediately mortal; and the flow of blood ceasing when he lay down, presently he came to himself, and entreated those that were about him to put him out of his pain; but they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and struggling, until Diomedes, Cleopatra's secretary, came to him, having orders from her to bring him into the monument.

When he understood she was alive, he eagerly gave order to the servants to take him up, and in their arms was carried to the door of the building. Cleopatra would not open the door, but, looking from a sort of window, she let down ropes and cords, to which Antony was fastened; and she and her two women, the only persons she had allowed to enter the monument, drew him up. Those that were present say that nothing was ever more sad than this spectacle, to see Antony, covered all over with blood and just expiring, thus drawn up, still holding up his hands to her, and lifting up his body with the little force he had left.

When she had got him up, she laid him on the bed, tearing all her clothes, which she spread upon him; and, beating her breast with her hands, lacerating herself, and disfiguring her own face with the blood from his wounds, she called him her lord, her husband, her emperor, and seemed to have pretty nearly forgotten all her own troubles, she was so intent upon his misfortunes. Antony, stopping her lamentations as well as he could, called for wine to drink, either that he was thirsty, or that he imagined that it might put him the sooner out of pain. When

he had drunk, he advised her to bring her own affairs, so far as might be honorably done, to a safe conclusion, and that, among all the friends of Octavius Cæsar, she should rely on Proculeius; that she should not pity him in this last turn of fate, but rather rejoice for him in remembrance of his past happiness, who had been of all men the most illustrious and powerful, and in the end had fallen not ignobly, a Roman by a Roman overcome. Just as he breathed his last, Proculeius arrived from Cæsar.

*[Octavius contrived to capture Cleopatra alive, with the intent of displaying her as a prisoner in his triumph at Rome. Once this purpose became clear to her, she made her plans accordingly.]*

There was a young man among Cæsar's companions named Cornelius Dolabella. He was not without a certain tenderness for Cleopatra, and sent her word privately, as she had besought him to do, that Octavius was about to return through Syria, and that she and her children were to be sent on within three days. When she understood this, she made her request to Cæsar that he would be pleased to permit her to make oblations to the departed Antony. This being granted, she ordered herself to be carried to the place where he was buried, and there embraced his tomb with tears in her eyes, and spoke: "O, dearest Antony," said she, "it is not long since that with these hands I buried you; then they were free, now I am a captive, and pay these last duties to you with a guard upon me. But if the gods below, with whom you now are, either can or will do anything, suffer not your living wife to be abandoned; let me not be led in triumph to your shame, but hide me and bury me here with you."

Having made these lamentations, crowning the tomb with garlands and kissing it, she gave orders to prepare her a bath, and, coming out of the bath, she lay down and ate a sumptuous meal. And a country fellow brought her a little basket, which the guards intercepting and asking what it was, the fellow put the leaves which lay uppermost aside, and showed them it was full of figs; and on their admiring the largeness and beauty of the figs, he laughed, and invited them to take some, which they refused, and, suspecting nothing, bade him carry them in.

After her repast, Cleopatra sent to Octavius a letter which she had written and sealed; and, putting everybody out of the monument but her two women, she shut the doors. Octavius, opening her letter, and finding pathetic prayers and entreaties that she might be buried in the

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same tomb with Antony, soon guessed what was doing. At first he was going himself in all haste, but, changing his mind, he sent others to see.

The messengers came at full speed, and found the guards apprehensive of nothing; but on opening the doors they saw her stone-dead, lying upon a bed of gold, set out in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dying at her feet, and Charmion, just ready to fall, scarce able to hold up her head, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. And when one that came in said angrily, "Was this well done of your lady, Charmion?" "Extremely well," she answered, "and as became the descendant of so many kings"; and as she said this, she fell down dead by the bedside.

Antony left by his three wives seven children, of whom only Antyllus, the eldest, was put to death by Cæsar; Octavia took the rest, and brought them up with her own. Of the two daughters whom Octavia had borne to Antony, Antonia, famous for her beauty and discretion, was married to Drusus, the son of Livia, and stepson to Octavius. Of these parents were born Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius reigned later as emperor; and of the children of Germanicus, Agrippina, after bearing a son Lucius Domitius, to Ahenobarbus, was married to Claudius Cæsar, who adopted Domitius, giving him the name of Nero. He was emperor in our time, and put his mother to death, and with his madness and folly came not far from ruining the Roman empire, being Antony's descendant in the fifth generation.





*Leonardo da Vinci's*

LETTER OF  
APPLICATION  
TO THE  
DUKE OF MILAN





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## HOME COURSE APPRECIATION

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THE PURPOSE OF THIS LETTER is as clear as its content. It is an application for a job, and in it the words "I can" appear no less than fourteen times. Had the writer wished, he might have multiplied that number many times over, for Leonardo da Vinci was perhaps the supreme genius of all time.

Painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, scientist, musician, mathematician—even this list does not exhaust the range of his talents. Biographers, dazzled by the splendor of his accomplishments, have called him a symbol of the Renaissance, a "universal genius" who epitomized the cultural and intellectual triumphs of that period of artistic flowering.

But Leonardo was also a man who had to work for a living. He was an illegitimate child, born in 1452 in Vinci, a small town in the Italian province of Tuscany. Caterina, his mother, has been described in some reports as a peasant girl, and in others as having been "of good blood." Of Piero, the father, it is known that he was a successful notary in Florence, that he eventually married another woman, but that he acknowledged Leonardo as his son and interested himself in the child's welfare.

A charming, handsome little boy, Leonardo revealed his artistic



perhaps the supreme genius of all time

abilities at an early age. The promise of the boy was fulfilled by the man who turned his searching eyes and creative hands to so many tasks. Leonardo painted two of the world's greatest pictures, the *Last Supper* and the *Mona Lisa*. All in all, eighteen paintings are attributed to him. This would seem far too small a legacy from such a rich source—but Leonardo was more interested in other pursuits.

Invention, investigation, and firsthand observation fascinated him. Why paint when it was so satisfying to note: "There are seventeen ways water can vary in being poured from the same size spout"?

The products of his questing, inventive mind testify to his genius as a scientist and engineer. Over five thousand pages of Leonardo's notebooks still exist, filled with drawings and with notes in a curious shorthand of his own. They offer explanations of already-existing devices with suggestions for their improvement, and original inventions of Leonardo's fertile mind. The wide variety of his interests includes helical gears, the measurement of the tensile strength of wire, water-raising devices, designs for a flying machine, and for webbed gloves similar to those worn by the frog-men of World War II.

When we consider the extraordinary range of Leonardo's knowledge and skills, his letter seems remarkably simple. The truth was, Leonardo disliked the written word. He considered language a faulty tool, far inferior to the artist's image as a means of communication or expression. His unornamented letter presented his case in a straightforward manner. And a reference to himself as an artist is almost a casual afterthought. No doubt shrewd sense advised him that a man skilled in the machinery of warfare would be of greater value to the ruling tyrant, Lodovico Sforza, than a man skilled in gentler arts.

Apparently the letter brought results. In 1482, Leonardo left Florence for Milan, where he was soon at work on a colossal equestrian statue for the tomb of Lodovico's father. The work dragged on; it was almost twelve years before the clay model was finished and ready to be cast in bronze. But the bronze that had been reserved for it was diverted to Lodovico's war needs, and the statue was never cast. One report tells how the French archers who invaded Milan in 1499 used the giant clay figure as a target. In the opinion of those who saw the model, it was superior to the finest equestrian statues known.

The master's legacy does not bulk very large: eighteen paintings over a period of fifty years, five thousand pages of notes in a secretive script, and a trail of unfinished paintings, abandoned projects, and disgruntled patrons. But we seize and guard it jealously, for over it all plays the dazzling light of genius.




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HAVING, most illustrious lord, seen and considered the experiments of all those who pose as masters in the art of inventing instruments of war, and finding that their inventions differ in no way from those in common use, I am emboldened, without prejudice to anyone, to solicit an appointment of acquainting your Excellency with certain of my secrets.

1. I can construct bridges which are very light and strong and very portable, with which to pursue and defeat the enemy; and others more solid, which resist fire or assault, yet are easily removed and placed in position; and I can also burn and destroy those of the enemy.

2. In case of a siege I can cut off water from the trenches and make pontoons and scaling ladders and other similar contrivances.

3. If by reason of the elevation or the strength of its position a place cannot be bombarded, I can demolish every fortress if its foundations have not been set on stone.

4. I can also make a kind of cannon which is light and easy of transport, with which to hurl small stones like hail, and of which the smoke causes great terror to the enemy, so that they suffer heavy loss and confusion.

5. I can noiselessly construct to any prescribed point subterranean passages, either straight or winding, passing if necessary underneath trenches or a river.

6. I can make armored wagons carrying artillery, which shall



break through the most serried ranks of the enemy, and so open a safe passage for infantry.

7. If occasion should arise, I can construct cannon and mortars and light ordnance in shape both ornamental and useful and different from those in common use.

8. When it is impossible to use cannon I can supply in their stead catapults, mangonels, trabocchi, and other instruments of admirable efficiency not in general use. In short, as the occasion requires I can supply infinite means of attack and defense.

9. And if the fight should take place upon the sea, I can construct many engines most suitable either for attack or defense and ships which can resist the fire of the heaviest cannon, and powders or weapons.

10. In time of peace, I believe that I can give you as complete satisfaction as anyone else in the construction of buildings both public and private, and in conducting water from one place to another.

I can further execute sculpture in marble, bronze or clay, also in painting I can do as much as anyone else, whoever he may be.

Moreover, I would undertake the commission of the bronze horse, which shall endue with immortal glory and eternal honor the auspicious memory of your father and of the illustrious house of Sforza.

And if any of the aforesaid things should seem to anyone impossible or impracticable, I offer myself as ready to make trial of them in your park or in whatever place shall please your Excellency, to whom I commend myself with all possible humility.

# THE REPUBLIC

*by*  
*Plato*

A CONDENSATION

*By permission of Oxford University Press*



NOTE: *The editor's summaries of omitted sections of this work appear in brackets at several points in the text.*



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## HOME COURSE APPRECIATION

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WHEREVER ARCHAEOLOGISTS FIND EVIDENCE of *man*, they find traces of *men*. From his earliest beginnings, man seems to have sought the company of other men. Did he want protection from his enemies? Was it only security he sought in a universe filled with mysterious, fearful powers? Or was he after the solace of companionship? Whatever the reason, this living together—on even the simplest level—eventually gave rise to social requirements. Customs and rules were necessary to protect the interests of the group, and within the group, the interests of the individual. At first these rules must have been transmitted by tradition and tribal ceremonies. But after a time they grew into a system that could be written down as laws. This was the beginning of the state.

All this took centuries. And many more centuries had to pass before men, asking, What is the best form of the state and how shall man attain it? began the search for the ideal state. Revolutions, civil wars and world wars have been fought because they could not agree on one answer to the question. It remains for each generation to debate anew.

### THE FIRST GREAT ANSWER

Who would have thought that gold could rust and crumble with decay? Yet the Athenian state that Pericles had erected in the Golden Age of Greece was doing just that. The city-states were experiencing a surge of individualism; each man thought only of himself and his own welfare. Plato knew that no community in which every member is concerned only with himself can long remain strong. He saw that the rising individualism was actually a slow poison that was steadily weakening the entire social and moral order of Athens. The book that we know as *The Republic* was his inspired attempt to halt the gradual

disintegration of Athens. It is a supreme vision of the ideal state.

Now to Plato it was an undeniable truth that man could live a good life only in some form of organized community. Thus, the question of what made the best life could not be answered apart from the further question of what is the best organization of human society. As he examines the state that he considers would be the best form of human society, Plato touches every principle upon which human welfare depends. His inquiries lead him to investigate the very nature of man, and he finds that whatever good and evil exist in the outer world are, ultimately, reflections of the good and evil in man's own soul.

### THE LIFE OF PLATO

ONLY THE MOST GENERAL facts are known about the life of the world's most renowned philosopher. He was born in Athens about 427 B.C., and died there in 347 B.C. at the age of eighty. He came from a distinguished family who counted the early kings of Athens among their ancestors.

Around 387 B.C., after traveling in the Mediterranean region for about twelve years, Plato returned to Athens to found a school. Located in the grove of Academus, this school which has been considered the first university in the western world, came to be called the Academy.

When he was sixty Plato was offered the opportunity to put into practice his ideas concerning the proper training for a ruler. He was requested to go to Syracuse, to tutor that city's young tyrant. But his educational experiment failed and Plato went back to Athens. When a second visit also ended in failure, he returned again to Athens to spend the remaining twenty years of his life.

### SOCRATES

Such a bare outline of chronological facts successfully hides the most important inspiration of Plato's life: his association with the great philosopher Socrates.

We are likely to think of philosophers as vague, absent-minded men so constantly absorbed in abstract thoughts that they know nothing of the world around them. Symbolic of the breed is Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher, at once so regular in his daily walk from home to university and back that the housewives of Königsberg set their clocks by him, and so far off in his thought that he never knew the odd little use made of him.



The "Divine" Plato

Not so Socrates! That homely man of extraordinary vitality had no more regularity than a grasshopper. Moreover, he was unusually social. He loved people, dinner parties, crowds and entertainments of all sorts. But most of all he enjoyed the company of intelligent, well-bred young men whose curiosity he might fire and whose brains he might pick.

For Socrates put everyone to use. His was the single-minded pursuit of wisdom and his methods were highly unorthodox. He himself described his mission in life as the "search for and . . . inquiry into the wisdom of anyone, whether citizen or stranger." It is told that he never tired of asking everyone on any occasion: "What is a state? What is a statesman? What is a ruler over men? What is a ruling character?"

His querying led, finally, to his doom. He was accused of subverting the state by corrupting the minds of its youth, tried before the tribunal of Athens and sentenced to death. Plato described the trial in the *Apology*, and in the *Phaedrus* he related Socrates' death. It is Socrates himself we hear describing his activities as he stands before his judges: ". . . if you kill me, you will not easily find a successor to me, who am, if I may use a ludicrous figure of speech, a sort of gadfly, given to the state by God; and the state is a great and noble steed who is tardy in his motions owing to his very size, and requires to be stirred to life. I am that gadfly God had attached to the state and all day long and in all places am always fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you."

### THE SOCRATIC METHOD

**A**THENIAN GENTLEMEN OF SOCRATES' TIME did not spend their days in their homes, but in the sunlight of public places where friends were to be met and ideas and news exchanged. Athens was a glorious city, with its magnificent temples and grand statues. It teemed with commerce and national enterprise. There was plenty to talk about and the Athenians loved to talk. A great deal of time was spent in arguing legal cases, for not only were the Athenians themselves prone to go to court, but many cases were brought to their courts from the colonies to be heard. Many a man's fortune or freedom depended on his sharp wit and agility in arguing his own case at law.

Over all this loquacity rose the voices of the Sophists, philosophers foreign to Athens who promised—for a fee—to teach the wealthy youth of the city all they needed to know to be successful in private

and public life. Although Socrates was often identified with the Sophists, he was in many respects their direct opposite. He made no promises and he took no fees. Also, he disputed both the Sophists' claims to knowledge and to their ability to teach it even if they had it. The Delphic Oracle had once said that he, Socrates, was the wisest of men, and he had devoted his life to finding a wiser one. But though he had found cobblers and cooks who knew their trades, and politicians and philosophers who pretended to real knowledge he had discovered no one who actually possessed wisdom. Half in jest, half in dead earnest, he explained that like other men, he knew nothing. If he had any distinction at all it was this: he *knew* he knew nothing.

Socrates did not aim to win debates. He sought to define their issues. He wanted to clear men's minds of all the false conceptions that they perpetuate in their thinking simply because it is so much easier to remain with the old and familiar than to attempt the new and strange.

That is why he was forever questioning and cross-questioning his companions, tying them in verbal knots, and then starting out again with fresh inquiries. He was searching for the truth that he assumed was hidden in the soul of man, and that could be drawn out by skillful questioning. For his pains the tribunal put Socrates to death. But only Socrates; the Socratic method they could not kill. It has served ever since as the keystone in the structure of western philosophy and become one of the great methods of education.

### THE PLATONIC DIALOGUE

PLATO WAS TO HAVE MADE HIS CAREER in politics, but the death of Socrates turned him from this course, and he became a philosopher instead. And it is thanks to the philosophical dialogues of Plato the student, that Socrates the teacher has come down to us through the ages. Socrates is the central figure in these discussions—a witty, ironic, tender man, an unyielding seeker for the good and the true.

Though many have tried, no one has been able to write philosophical dialogues with the literary and dramatic charm of Plato's. To read them is to be ushered into a world where no one is ever hurried and everyone has time for the good things in life. "I walked down to Piraeus yesterday with Glaucon, the son of Ariston, to make my prayers to the goddess. The prayers and the spectacle were over, and we were leaving to go back to the city . . ." So begins *The Republic*. All the dialogues begin in this leisurely fashion.

Structurally, they are conceived in the form of the Greek drama.



The typical dialogue begins with a prologue, and this is followed by a contest which consists of long speeches interspersed with rapid exchanges of short questions and answers. There is, also, a variety of episodes which may introduce a new subject of inquiry or a new character. Generally the dialogue ends with some kind of message in the form of a myth.

Although the names of the characters are comparatively strange to us, we know that they were meant to represent actual people, some contemporary with the writing, some belonging to the previous generation. Some are public figures, others are personal friends, but Plato does not tie himself down to historical truth. The characters serve merely to propound specific points of view—which the individuals named may, or may not, have held. Even in the case of Socrates, we are not really clear as to what parts of what he says are actually his points of view, and which are Plato's own. For Plato has ennobled his teacher, made him grander and more wonderful than he could possibly have been. It is almost certain that in some of the dialogues Plato has Socrates say things that Socrates could not possibly have said. Nevertheless, it was Socrates' method and Socrates' thinking that gave direction to Plato's own thinking.

### THE OPENING OF "THE REPUBLIC"

THE BEGINNING of *The Republic*, which serves as an introduction to the description of the "best" state, illustrates several points of Plato's method.

First, there is the search for a definition—in this case, the definition of justice. The scene is in the house of Cephalus, at Piraeus—the port of Athens—and Socrates is narrating what took place the day before. He had been trying to elicit the nature of justice from his friend, Polemarchus, when the Sophist, Thrasymachus, angrily intervened. He accuses Socrates of talking nonsense, always making questions instead of giving answers, because he is afraid of committing himself and will do anything rather than answer a question.

After an ironic apology on Socrates' part, Thrasymachus is persuaded, on condition he is paid, to give the correct answer to the question himself. Justice, he proclaims, is "nothing but what is to the interest of the stronger."

Socrates now begins his artful analysis. By skillful questioning he shows Thrasymachus that his definition of justice leads to a contradiction. Thrasymachus has maintained that justice consists in obeying

whatever the stronger group orders, but he has also admitted that the stronger group sometimes makes mistakes, and orders things which are not in its own interest. In such cases, therefore, justice both *is* and *is not* in the interest of the stronger. For example, suppose a tyrant unwisely starts a war which is really against his own interest. If justice consists not only in obeying his orders, but also in serving his interest, then it is our duty to fight for him, but also *not* to fight for him. Socrates' conclusion is that justice cannot be defined as the interest of the stronger; Thrasymachus' definition has failed.

Thrasymachus manages, with some loss of face, to worm out of this difficulty only to fall into others. He is trapped by Socrates' remorseless logic, and Socrates sees what he had never seen before—"Thrasymachus blushing."

### SOCRATES' CONCEPTION OF JUSTICE

SOCRATES DEVELOPS A VERY DIFFERENT CONCEPTION of justice. The just ruler, he suggests, is like a good pilot, a good shepherd, or a good physician. All these men act in their own interest. Each of the arts they ply has its end outside itself. The good pilot is not one who insures his ship and then sinks it with all aboard to collect the insurance. He is one who skillfully and safely transports his passengers. Similarly, the shepherd and the physician are not busy to enrich themselves, but to ensure the well-being of their charges. In the same way, Socrates asks, is not the just ruler one who serves the interests of his subjects rather than his own? That is why we pay him for his services.

This illustrates Socrates' famous arts-crafts analogy: Justice is analogous to an art or craft. As the shepherd, the pilot, the cobbler and the physician require special training, and are judged by the excellence of their work, so also the ruler.

Further on in *The Republic* Socrates sets forth his conception of justice more fully. It is "minding one's own business," that is, sticking to the job for which one is trained, instead of "everyone minding everyone else's business," which is the practice in democracies. Consistent with this, justice is also viewed as the harmony of the parts of the soul in man, and of the classes in the state. Even as in the just soul Reason governs Will and Desire, so in a just state the philosophers, fitted by aptitude and training for the job, govern the pugnacious soldiery and the desire-driven artisans.

But let us return to the argument that opens *The Republic*. Two

young men of the company, the noble brothers Glaucon and Adimantus, want to explore Thrasymachus' ideas further. At a time when tyrants are the rule, they find the new notions exciting. They therefore put up strong arguments for the "might is right" principle, though they do not themselves accept it. One of their contentions is that if men conform to ethical rules they do so only out of self-interest, and they illustrate the point by one of the famous myths which are strewn throughout Plato's dialogues. The *Myth of the Ring of Gyges* relates how the shepherd Gyges finds a mysterious ring which renders him invisible at will. What does he do? He goes to the palace, kills the king, usurps the throne, and possesses the queen, the implication being that every man under such circumstances would do the same.

Socrates treats the two brothers with urbanity and civility, but demolishes their arguments. There is still, however, no agreement as to the nature of justice. Indeed, most of the dialogues end without a final solution, for the disputation is conceived as a way of life, each succeeding generation taking up its dialogue where the previous one broke off. But the extraordinary thing about *The Republic*, and the reason for its importance to an understanding of Plato, is that—in the middle of the second book—Socrates embarks on a new method of reaching justice. If we are to find a just man, he suggests, it will be in a just state. The remainder of *The Republic* is devoted, accordingly, to the rational construction of that state.

### THE PLATONIC DIALOGUE AS DRAMA

IT IS OFTEN SAID THAT IF PLATO had not met Socrates he would have been one of the greatest Greek tragedians. Even as it is, his dialogues are rated as high by literary men as by philosophers. All but a few of the later dialogues, such as the *Parmenides*, the *Sophist*, and the *Laws*, are fine drama, and the *Symposium*, the *Phaedo*, the *Protagoras*, and *The Republic* are superb. We have already caught a glimpse of the skillful staging of the exchange between Socrates and Thrasymachus in *The Republic*.

It is precisely this dramatic impact that takes *The Republic* into the realm of art. Whenever a character, even Socrates himself, speaks, the reader must consider not only these words themselves, but also the context in which they are spoken. For this reason, we must be careful not to quote out of context.

What do the dialogues gain from this dramatic form? Certainly interest is one important advantage. Instead of presenting dry abstrac-



Periclean Athens was gradually disintegrating  
during Plato's lifetime.

tions, Plato gives us living men with different personalities, who can be turned in various ways to expose the full range of their stupidity or intelligence. In this way, we can watch the actual growth of vague ideas into general truths. Furthermore, although the reader might be bored by a treatise on Reckless Action, it is not likely that he will be bored by Alcibiades, who embodies much of this quality in his character.

Another advantage of Plato's presentation is the humor which comes out of it. Platonic humor helps cast absurdity on illogical ideas; it guides the reader unobtrusively; it implies a whole scheme of reference against which the folly of certain actions becomes evident. This humor, by its very presence, helps to develop the ideas.

To illustrate dramatic action, we need think only of the *Symposium*, where Alcibiades says that in his youth he saw in Socrates "divine and golden images of such fascinating beauty that I was ready to do in a moment whatever Socrates commanded." His drunken eulogy gives us a new perspective on the philosopher. We see Socrates not as a pretentious demigod but as a lovable man who fought and loved and often overdrank, although no one had ever seen him drunk.

Plato, who probably thought of Socrates as his ideal, did not recommend abstinence, either in wine or love, but thought of them as proving grounds of a man's self-command and equipoise. The so-called "Platonic love" means only that in love the spiritual side should be superior to the physical.

### THE "DIVINE PLATO"

IN SOME OF HIS DIALOGUES Plato is doubtless reporting Socrates' ideas; in others he is expounding his own. Scholars are far from agreement as to where the one philosopher's ideas end and the other's begin. Whereas Socrates wrote nothing, Plato's production was voluminous, consisting of thirty-five dialogues, some of them long books in themselves, and a collection of *Epistles*. Oddly enough, and fortunately for us, they are all preserved:

The range of topics discussed in the dialogues is prodigious. In *The Republic* alone we have politics, ethics, aesthetics, metaphysics and religion. There is a vast range of issues presented. For example: If the ideal is what confers life on everything that is, should not the artist seek to portray the ideal, the source of reality, and give up copying nature's mistakes? And since women are equal to men in everything but physical strength, should they not play their part in military de-

fense? Or again, are not rulers justified in deceiving the people, even as a regular practice, if there is clear scientific evidence that it is for their own good?

Praise of Plato always seems redundant—like carrying coals to Newcastle. It is enough to point out that the whole of Western European philosophy is often regarded as mere footnotes to Plato and Aristotle. These two philosophers laid the foundation of Western ideology itself. Of all Plato's works, *The Republic* has been most influential.



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**S**OCRATES. I walked down to the Piraeus yesterday with Glaucon, the son of Ariston, to make my prayers to the goddess. The prayers and the spectacle were over, and we were leaving to go back to the city, when from some way off Polemarchus, the son of Cephalus, caught sight of us starting homewards and sent his slave running to ask us to wait for him. The boy caught my garment from behind and gave me the message.

I turned round and asked where his master was.

There, he answered; coming up behind. Please wait.

Very well, said Glaucon; we will.

A minute later Polemarchus joined us, with Glaucon's brother, Adcimantus, and some others who must have been at the procession.

Socrates, said Polemarchus, I do believe you are starting back to town and leaving us.

You have guessed right, I answered.

Well, he said, you see what a large party we are?

I do.

Unless you are more than a match for us, then, you must stay here.

Isn't there another alternative? said I; we might convince you that you must let us go.

How will you convince us, if we refuse to listen?

We cannot, said Glaucon.

Well, we shall refuse; make up your minds to that.



Here Adeimantus interposed: Don't you even know that in the evening there is going to be a torch-race on horseback in honor of the goddess?

On horseback! I exclaimed; that is something new. How will they do it? Are the riders going to race with torches and hand them on to one another?

Just so, said Polemarchus. Besides, there will be a festival lasting all night, which will be worth seeing. We will go out after dinner and look on. We shall find plenty of young men there and we can have a talk. So please stay, and don't disappoint us.

It looks as if we had better stay, said Glaucon.

Well, said I, if you think so, we will.

Accordingly, we went home with Polemarchus; and there we found Thrasymachus of Chalcedon. Polemarchus' father, Cephalus, was at home too. I had not seen him for some time, and it struck me that he had aged a good deal. He was sitting in a cushioned chair, wearing a garland, as he had just been conducting a sacrifice in the courtyard. There were some chairs standing round, and we sat down beside him.

As soon as he saw me, Cephalus greeted me. You don't often come down to the Piraeus to visit us, Socrates, he said. But you ought to. If I still had the strength to walk to town easily, you would not have to come here; we would come to you. But, as things are, you really ought to come here oftener. I find, I can assure you, that in proportion as bodily pleasures lose their savor, my appetite for the things of the mind grows keener and I enjoy discussing them more than ever. So you must not disappoint me. Treat us like old friends, and come here often to have a talk with these young men.

To tell the truth, Cephalus, I answered, I enjoy talking with very old people. They have gone before us on a road by which we too may have to travel, and I think we do well to learn from them what it is like, easy or difficult, rough or smooth. And now that you have reached an age when your foot, as the poets say, is on the threshold, I should like to hear what report you can give and whether you find it a painful time of life.

I will tell you by all means what it seems like to me, Socrates. I remember someone asking Sophocles, the poet, whether he was still capable of enjoying a woman. 'Don't talk in that way,' he answered; 'I am only too glad to be free of all that; it is like escaping from bondage to a raging madman.' I thought that a good answer at the time, and I still think so; for certainly a great peace comes when age sets us free from

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passions of that sort. When they weaken and relax their hold, most certainly it means, as Sophocles said, a release from servitude to many forms of madness. All these troubles, Socrates, including the complaints about not being respected, have only one cause; and that is not old age, but a man's character. If you have a contented mind at peace with itself, age is no intolerable burden; without that, Socrates, age and youth will be equally painful.

I was charmed with these words and wanted him to go on talking; so I tried to draw him out. I fancy, Cephalus, said I, most people will not accept that account; they imagine that it is not character that makes your burden light, but your wealth. The rich, they say, have many consolations.

That is true, he replied; they do not believe me; and there is something in their suggestion, though not so much as they suppose. When a man from Seriphus taunted Themistocles and told him that his fame was due not to himself but to his country, Themistocles made a good retort: 'Certainly, if I had been born a Seriphian, I should not be famous; but no more would you, if you had been born at Athens.' And so one might say to men who are not rich and feel old age burdensome: If it is true that a good man will not find it easy to bear old age and poverty combined, no more will riches ever make a bad man contented and cheerful.

And was your wealth, Cephalus, mostly inherited or have you made your own fortune?

Made my fortune, Socrates? As a man of business I stand somewhere between my grandfather and my father. My grandfather, who was my namesake, inherited about as much property as I have now and more than doubled it; whereas my father Lysanias reduced it below its present level. I shall be content if I can leave these sons of mine not less than I inherited, and perhaps a little more.

I asked, said I, because you strike me as not caring overmuch about money; and that is generally so with men who have not made their own fortune. Those who have are twice as fond of their possessions as other people. They have the same affection for the money they have earned that poets have for their poems, or fathers for their children: they not merely find it useful, as we all do, but it means much to them as being of their own creation. That makes them disagreeable company; they have not a good word for anything but riches.

That is quite true.

It is indeed, I said; but one more question: what do you take to be the greatest advantage you have got from being wealthy?

Now in this, as I believe, lies the chief value of wealth, not for everyone, perhaps, but for the right-thinking man. It can do much to save us from going to that other world in fear of having cheated or deceived anyone even unintentionally or of being in debt to some god for sacrifice or to some man for money. Wealth has many other uses, of course; but, taking one with another, I should regard this as the best use that can be made of it by a man of sense.

You put your case admirably, Cephalus, said I. But take this matter of doing right: can we say that it really consists in nothing more nor less than telling the truth and paying back anything we may have received? Are not these very actions sometimes right and sometimes wrong? Suppose, for example, a friend who had lent us a weapon were to go mad and then ask for it back, surely anyone would say we ought not to return it. It would not be 'right' to do so; nor yet to tell the truth without reserve to a madman.

No, it would not.

Right conduct, then, cannot be defined as telling the truth and restoring anything we have been trusted with.

Yes, it can, Polemarchus broke in, at least if we are to believe Simonides.

Well, well, said Cephalus, I will bequeath the argument to you. It is time for me to attend to the sacrifice.

Your part, then, said Polemarchus, will fall to me as your heir.

By all means, said Cephalus with a smile; and with that he left us, to see to the sacrifice.

**T**HEN, SAID I, if you are to inherit this discussion, tell me, what is this saying of Simonides about right conduct which you approve?

That it is just to render every man his due. That seems to me a fair statement.

It is certainly hard to question the inspired wisdom of a poet like Simonides; but what this saying means you may know, Polemarchus, but I do not. Obviously it does not mean what we were speaking of just now—returning something we have been entrusted with to the owner even when he has gone out of his mind. And yet surely it is his due, if he asks for it back?

Yes.

## THE REPUBLIC

But it is out of the question to give it back when he has gone mad? True.

Simonides, then, must have meant something different from that when he said it was just to render a man his due.

Certainly he did; his idea was that, as between friends, what one owes to another is to do him good, not harm.

I see, said I; to repay money entrusted to one is not to render what is due, if the two parties are friends and the repayment proves harmful to the lender. That is what you say Simonides meant?

Yes, certainly.

And what about enemies? Are we to render whatever is their due to them?

Yes, certainly, what really is due to them; which means, I suppose, what is appropriate to an enemy—some sort of injury.

It seems, then, that Simonides was using words with a hidden meaning, as poets will. He really meant to define justice as rendering to everyone what is appropriate to him; only he called that his 'due.'

Well, why not?

If we are to follow those analogies, Socrates, justice would be rendering services or injuries to friends or enemies.

So Simonides means by justice doing good to friends and harm to enemies?

I think so.

In what sphere of action, then, will the just man be the most competent to do good or harm?

In war, I should imagine; when he is fighting on the side of his friends and against his enemies.

Is it also true that the just man is useless when we are not at war?

I should not say that.

So justice has its uses in peace-time too?

Yes. For matters of business, Socrates.

In a partnership, you mean?

Yes.

But if we are playing draughts, or laying bricks, or making music, will the just man be as good and helpful a partner as an expert draught-player, or a builder, or a musician?

No.

Then in what kind of partnership will he be more helpful?

Where money is involved, I suppose.

Except, perhaps, Polemarchus, when we are putting our money to some use. If we are buying or selling a horse, a judge of horses would be a better partner; or if we are dealing in ships, a shipwright or a sea-captain.

I suppose so.

Well, when will the just man be specially useful in handling our money?

When we want to deposit it for safe-keeping.

When the money is to lie idle, in fact?

Yes.

So justice begins to be useful only when our money is out of use?

Perhaps so.

In fact justice is never of any use in using things; it becomes useful when they are useless.

That seems to follow.

If that is so, my friend, justice can hardly be a thing of much value. And here is another point. In boxing or fighting of any sort skill in dealing blows goes with skill in keeping them off; and the same doctor that can keep us from disease would also be clever at producing it by stealth; or again, a general will be good at keeping his army safe, if he can also cheat the enemy and steal his plans and dispositions. So a man who is expert in keeping things will always make an expert thief.

Apparently.

The just man, then, being good at keeping money safe, will also be good at stealing it.

That seems to be the conclusion, at any rate.

So the just man turns out to be a kind of thief. Justice, according to you and Homer and Simonides, turns out to be a form of skill in cheating, provided it be to help a friend or harm an enemy. That was what you meant?

Good God, no, he protested; but I have forgotten now what I did mean. All the same, I do still believe that justice consists in helping one's friends and harming one's enemies.

Isn't that true of human beings—that to harm them means making them worse men by the standard of human excellence?

Yes.

And is not justice a peculiarly human excellence?

Undoubtedly.

To harm a man, then, must mean making him less just.

I suppose so.

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But a musician or a riding-master cannot be exercising his special skill, if he makes his pupils unmusical or bad riders.

No.

Whereas the just man is to exercise his justice by making men unjust? Or, in more general terms, the good are to make men bad by exercising their virtue? Can that be so?

No, it cannot.

It can no more be the function of goodness to do harm than of heat to cool or of drought to produce moisture. So if the just man is good, the business of harming people, whether friends or not, must belong to his opposite, the unjust.

I think that is perfectly true, Socrates.

So it was not a wise saying that justice is giving every man his due, if that means that harm is due from the just man to his enemies, as well as help to his friends. That is not true; because we have found that it is never right to harm anyone.

I agree.

Then you and I will make common cause against anyone who attributes that doctrine to Simonides.

Yes, he said, I am prepared to support you.

Do you know, I think that account of justice, as helping friends and harming enemies, must be due to some despot, so rich and powerful that he thought he could do as he liked.

That is extremely probable.

Very good, said I; and now that we have disposed of that definition of justice, can anyone suggest another?

ALL THIS TIME THRASYMACHUS had been trying more than once to break in upon our conversation.

What is the matter with you two, Socrates? Why do you go on in this imbecile way, politely deferring to each other's nonsense? If you really want to know what justice means, stop asking questions and scoring off the answers you get. You know very well it is easier to ask questions than to answer them. Answer yourself, and tell us what you think justice means. I won't have you telling us it is the same as what is obligatory or useful or advantageous or profitable or expedient; I want a clear and precise statement; I won't put up with that sort of verbiage.

Don't be hard on us, Thrasymachus. If Polemarchus and I have

gone astray in our search, you may be quite sure the mistake was not intentional. If we had been looking for a piece of gold, we should never have deliberately allowed politeness to spoil our chance of finding it; and now when we are looking for justice, a thing much more precious than gold, you cannot imagine we should defer to each other in that foolish way and not do our best to bring it to light. You must believe we are in earnest, my friend; but I am afraid the task is beyond our powers, and we might expect a man of your ability to pity us instead of being so severe.

Thrasymachus replied with a burst of sardonic laughter.

Good Lord, he said; Socrates at his old trick of shamming ignorance! I knew it; I told the others you would refuse to commit yourself and do anything sooner than answer a question.

Yes, Thrasymachus, I replied; because you are clever. So let us have your definition, Thrasymachus.

Oh yes, he said; so that Socrates may play the old game of questioning and refuting someone else, instead of giving an answer himself!

But really, I protested, what can you expect from a man who does not know the answer or profess to know it, and, besides that, has been forbidden by no mean authority to put forward any notions he may have? Surely the definition should naturally come from you, who say you do know the answer and can tell it us. Please do not disappoint us. I should take it as a kindness, and I hope you will not be chary of giving Glaucon and the rest of us the advantage of your instruction.

So this is what Socrates' wisdom comes to! He refuses to teach, and goes about learning from others without offering so much as thanks in return.

I do learn from others, Thrasymachus; that is quite true; but you are wrong to call me ungrateful. I give in return all I can—praise; for I have no money. And how ready I am to applaud any idea that seems to me sound, you will see in a moment, when you have stated your own; for I am sure that will be sound.

Listen then, Thrasymachus began. What I say is that 'just' or 'right' means nothing but what is to the interest of the stronger party. Well, where is your applause? You don't mean to give it me.

I will, as soon as I understand, I said. I don't see yet what you mean by right being the interest of the stronger party.

Don't you know, then, that a state may be ruled by a despot, or a democracy, or an aristocracy?

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Of course.

And that the ruling element is always the strongest?

Yes.

Well then, in every case the laws are made by the ruling party in its own interest; a democracy makes democratic laws, a despot autocratic ones, and so on. By making these laws they define as 'right' for their subjects whatever is for their own interest, and they call anyone who breaks them a 'wrongdoer' and punish him accordingly. That is what I mean: in all states alike 'right' has the same meaning, namely what is for the interest of the party established in power, and that is the strongest. So the sound conclusion is that what is 'right' is the same everywhere: the interest of the stronger party.

Now I see what you mean, said I; whether it is true or not, I must try to make out. When you define right in terms of interest, you are yourself giving one of those answers you forbade to me; though, to be sure, you add 'to the stronger party.'

An insignificant addition, perhaps!

Its importance is not clear yet; what is clear is that we must find out whether your definition is true. I agree myself that right is in a sense a matter of interest; but when you add 'to the stronger party,' I don't know about that. I must consider.

Go ahead, then.

I will. Tell me this. No doubt you also think it is right to obey the men in power?

I do.

Are they infallible in every type of state, or can they sometimes make a mistake?

Of course they can make a mistake.

In framing laws, then, they may do their work well or badly?

No doubt.

Well, that is to say, when the laws they make are to their own interest; badly, when they are not?

Yes.

But the subjects are to obey any law they lay down, and they will then be doing right?

Of course.

If so, by your account, it will be right to do what is not to the interest of the stronger party, as well as what is so.

What's that you are saying?

Just what you said, I believe; but let us look again. Haven't you



admitted that the rulers, when they enjoin certain acts on their subjects, sometimes mistake their own best interests, and at the same time that it is right for the subjects to obey, whatever they may enjoin?

Yes, I suppose so.

Well, that amounts to admitting that it is right to do what is not to the interest of the rulers or the stronger party. They may unwittingly enjoin what is to their own disadvantage; and you say it is right for the others to do as they are told. In that case, their duty must be the opposite of what you said, because the weaker will have been ordered to do what is against the interest of the stronger. You with your intelligence must see how that follows.

Yes, Socrates, said Polemarchus, that is undeniable.

No doubt, Cleitophon broke in, if you are to be a witness on Socrates' side.

No witness is needed, replied Polemarchus; Thrasymachus himself admits that rulers sometimes ordain acts that are to their own disadvantage, and that it is the subjects' duty to do them.

That is because Thrasymachus said it was right to do what you are told by the men in power.

Yes, but he also said that what is to the interest of the stronger party is right; and, after making both these assertions, he admitted that the stronger sometimes command the weaker subjects to act against their interests. From all which it follows that what is in the stronger's interest is no more right than what is not.

No, said Cleitophon; he meant whatever the stronger *believes* to be in his own interest. That is what the subject must do, and what Thrasymachus meant to define as right.

That was not what he said, rejoined Polemarchus.

No matter, Polemarchus, said I; if Thrasymachus says so now, let us take him in that sense. Now, Thrasymachus, tell me, was that what you intended to say—that right means what the stronger thinks is to his interest, whether it really is so or not?

Most certainly not, he replied. Do you suppose I should speak of a man as 'stronger' or 'superior' at the very moment when he is making a mistake?

I did think you said as much when you admitted that rulers are not always infallible.

That is because you are a quibbler, Socrates. Would you say a man deserves to be called a physician at the moment when he makes a mistake in treating his patient and just in respect of that mistake; or a

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mathematician, when he does a sum wrong and just in so far as he gets a wrong result? Of course we do commonly speak of a physician or a mathematician or a scholar having made a mistake; but really none of these, I should say, is ever mistaken, in so far as he is worthy of the name we give him. So strictly speaking—and you are all for being precise—no one who practises a craft makes mistakes. A man is mistaken when his knowledge fails him; and at that moment he is no craftsman. And what is true of craftsmanship or any sort of skill is true of the ruler: he is never mistaken so long as he is acting as a ruler; though anyone might speak of a ruler making a mistake, just as he might of a physician. You must understand that I was talking in that loose way when I answered your question just now; but the precise statement is this. The ruler, in so far as he is acting as a ruler, makes no mistakes and consequently enjoins what is best for himself; and that is what the subject is to do. So, as I said at first, 'right' means doing what is to the interest of the stronger.

Very well, Thrasymachus, said I. So you think I am quibbling? I am sure you are.

You believe my questions were maliciously designed to damage your position?

I know it. But you will gain nothing by that. You cannot outwit me by cunning, and you are not the man to crush me in the open.

Bless your soul, I answered, I should not think of trying. But, to prevent any more misunderstanding, when you speak of that ruler or stronger party whose interest the weaker ought to serve, please make it clear whether you are using the words in the ordinary way or in that strict sense you have just defined.

I mean a ruler in the strictest possible sense. Now quibble away and be as malicious as you can. I want no mercy. But you are no match for me.

Do you think me mad enough to beard a lion or try to outwit a Thrasymachus?

You did try just now, he retorted, but it wasn't a success. Why, you imagine that a herdsman studies the interests of his flocks or cattle, tending and fattening them up with some other end in view than his master's profit or his own; and so you don't see that, in politics, the genuine ruler regards his subjects exactly like sheep, and thinks of nothing else, night and day, but the good he can get out of them for himself. You are so far out in your notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, as not to know that 'right' actually means

what is good for someone else, and to be 'just' means serving the interest of the stronger who rules, at the cost of the subject who obeys; whereas injustice is just the reverse, asserting its authority over those innocents who are called just, so that they minister solely to their master's advantage and happiness, and not in the least degree to their own. Innocent as you are yourself, Socrates, you must see that a just man always has the worst of it. Take a private business: when a partnership is wound up, you will never find that the more honest of two partners comes off with the larger share; and in their relations to the state, when there are taxes to be paid, the honest man will pay more than the other on the same amount of property; or if there is money to be distributed, the dishonest will get it all. When either of them hold some public office, even if the just man loses in no other way, his private affairs at any rate will suffer from neglect, while his principles will not allow him to help himself from the public funds; not to mention the offence he will give to his friends and relations by refusing to sacrifice those principles to do them a good turn. Injustice has all the opposite advantages. I am speaking of the type I described just now, the man who can get the better of other people on a large scale: you must fix your eye on him, if you want to judge how much it is to one's own interest not to be just. You can see that best in the most consummate form of injustice, which rewards wrongdoing with supreme welfare and happiness and reduces its victims, if they won't retaliate in kind, to misery. That form is despotism, which uses force or fraud to plunder the goods of others, public or private, sacred or profane, and to do it in a wholesale way. If you are caught committing any one of these crimes on a small scale, you are punished and disgraced; they call it sacrilege, kidnaping, burglary, theft and brigandage. But if, besides taking their property, you turn all your countrymen into slaves, you will hear no more of those ugly names; your countrymen themselves will call you the happiest of men and bless your name, and so will everyone who hears of such a complete triumph of injustice; for when people denounce injustice, it is because they are afraid of suffering wrong, not of doing it. So true is it, Socrates, that injustice, on a grand enough scale, is superior to justice in strength and freedom and autocratic power; and 'right,' as I said at first, means simply what serves the interest of the stronger party; 'wrong' means what is for the interest and profit of oneself.

Having deluged our ears with this torrent of words, as the man at the baths might empty a bucket over one's head, Thrasymachus meant

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to take himself off; but the company obliged him to stay and defend his position. I was specially urgent in my entreaties.

My good Thrasymachus, said I, do you propose to fling a doctrine like that at our heads and then go away without explaining it properly or letting us point out to you whether it is true or not? Is it so small a matter in your eyes to determine the whole course of conduct which every one of us must follow to get the best out of life?

Don't I realize it is a serious matter? he retorted.

Apparently not, said I; or else you have no consideration for us, and do not care whether we shall lead better or worse lives for being ignorant of this truth you profess to know. Do take the trouble to let us into your secret; if you treat us handsomely, you may be sure it will be a good investment; there are so many of us to show our gratitude. I will make no secret of my own conviction, which is that injustice is not more profitable than justice, even when left free to work its will unchecked. No; let your unjust man have full power to do wrong, whether by successful violence or by escaping detection; all the same he will not convince me that he will gain more than he would by being just. There may be others here who feel as I do, and set justice above injustice. It is for you to convince us that we are not well advised.

How can I? he replied. If you are not convinced by what I have just said, what more can I do for you? Do you want to be fed with my ideas out of a spoon?

God forbid! I exclaimed; not that. But I do want you to stand by your own words; or, if you shift your ground, shift it openly and stop trying to hoodwink us as you are doing now. You see, Thrasymachus, to go back to your earlier argument, in speaking of the shepherd you did not think it necessary to keep to that strict sense you laid down when you defined the genuine physician. You represent him, in his character of shepherd, as feeding up his flock, not for their own sake but for the table or the market, as if he were out to make money as a caterer or a cattle-dealer, rather than a shepherd. Surely the sole concern of the shepherd's art is to do the best for the charges put under its care; its own best interest is sufficiently provided for, so long as it does not fall short of all that shepherding should imply. On that principle it followed, I thought, that any kind of authority, in the state or in private life, must, in its character of authority, consider solely what is best for those under its care. Now what is your opinion? Do you think that the men who govern states—I mean rulers in the strict sense—have no reluctance to hold office?

I don't think so, he replied; I know it.

Well, but haven't you noticed, Thrasymachus, that in other positions of authority no one is willing to act unless he is paid wages, which he demands on the assumption that all the benefit of his action will go to his charges? Tell me: Don't we always distinguish one form of skill from another by its power to effect some particular result? Do say what you really think, so that we may get on.

Yes, that is the distinction.

And also each brings us some benefit that is peculiar to it: medicine gives health, for example; the art of navigation, safety at sea; and so on.

Yes.

And wage-earning brings us wages; that is its distinctive product. Now, speaking with that precision which you proposed, you would not say that the art of navigation is the same as the art of medicine, merely on the ground that a ship's captain regained his health on a voyage, because the sea air was good for him. No more would you identify the practice of medicine with wage-earning because a man may keep his health while earning wages, or a physician attending a case may receive a fee.

No.

And, since we agreed that the benefit obtained by each form of skill is peculiar to it, any common benefit enjoyed alike by all these practitioners must come from some further practice common to them all?

It would seem so.

Yes, we must say that if they all earn wages, they get that benefit in so far as they are engaged in wage-earning as well as in practising their several arts.

He agreed reluctantly.

This benefit, then—the receipt of wages—does not come to a man from his special art. If we are to speak strictly, the physician, as such, produces health; the builder, a house; and then each, in his further capacity of wage-earner, gets his pay. Thus every art has its own function and benefits its proper subject. But suppose the practitioner is not paid; does he then get any benefit from his art?

Clearly not.

And is he doing no good to anyone either, when he works for nothing?

No, I suppose he does some good.

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Well then, Thrasymachus, it is now clear that no form of skill or authority provides for its own benefit. As we were saying some time ago, it always studies and prescribes what is good for its subject—the interest of the weaker party, not of the stronger. And that, my friend, is why I said that no one is willing to be in a position of authority and undertake to set straight other men's troubles, without demanding to be paid; because, if he is to do his work well, he will never, in his capacity of ruler, do, or command others to do, what is best for himself, but only what is best for the subject. For that reason, if he is to consent, he must have his recompense, in the shape of money or honor, or of punishment in case of refusal.

What do you mean, Socrates? asked Glaucon. I recognize two of your three kinds of reward; but I don't understand what you mean by speaking of punishment as a recompense.

Then you don't understand the recompense required by the best type of men, or their motive for accepting authority when they do consent. You surely know that a passion for honors or for money is rightly regarded as something to be ashamed of.

Yes, I do.

For that reason, I said, good men are unwilling to rule, either for money's sake or for honor. They have no wish to be called mercenary for demanding to be paid, or thieves for making a secret profit out of their office; nor yet will honors tempt them, for they are not ambitious. So they must be forced to consent under threat of penalty; that may be why a readiness to accept power under no such constraint is thought discreditable. And the *heaviest penalty for declining to rule is to be ruled by someone inferior to yourself*. That is the fear, I believe, that makes decent people accept power; and when they do so, they face the prospect of authority with no idea that they are coming into the enjoyment of a comfortable berth; it is forced upon them because they can find no one better than themselves, or even as good, to be entrusted with power. If there could ever be a society of perfect men, there might well be as much competition to evade office as there now is to gain it; and it would then be clearly seen that the genuine ruler's nature is to seek only the advantage of the subject, with the consequence that any man of understanding would sooner have another to do the best for him than be at the pains to do the best for that other himself. On this point, then, I entirely disagree with Thrasymachus' doctrine that right means what is to the interest of the stronger.

HOWEVER, I CONTINUED, we may return to that question later. Much more important is the position Thrasymachus is asserting now: that a life of injustice is to be preferred to a life of justice. Which side do you take, Glaucon? Where do you think the truth lies?

I should say that the just life is the better worth having.

You heard Thrasymachus' catalogue of all the good things in store for injustice?

I did, but I am not convinced.

Shall we try to convert him, then, supposing we can find some way to prove him wrong?

By all means.

We might answer Thrasymachus' case in a set speech of our own, drawing up a corresponding list of the advantages of justice; he would then have the right to reply, and we should make our final rejoinder; but after that we should have to count up and measure the advantages on each list, and we should need a jury to decide between us. Whereas, if we go on as before, each securing the agreement of the other side, we can combine the functions of advocate and judge. We will take whichever course you prefer.

I prefer the second, said Glaucon.

Come then, Thrasymachus, said I, let us start afresh with our questions. You say that injustice pays better than justice, when both are carried to the furthest point?

I do, he replied; and I have told you why.

And how would you describe them? I suppose you would call one of them an excellence and the other a defect?

Of course.

Justice an excellence, and injustice a defect?

Now is that likely, when I am telling you that injustice pays, and justice does not?

Then what do you say?

The opposite.

That justice is a defect?

No; rather the mark of a good-natured simpleton.

Injustice, then, implies being ill-natured?

No; I should call it good policy.

Do you think the unjust are positively superior in character and intelligence, Thrasymachus?

Yes, if they are the sort that can carry injustice to perfection and

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make themselves masters of whole cities and nations. Perhaps you think I was talking of pickpockets. There is profit even in that trade, if you can escape detection; but it doesn't come to much as compared with the gains I was describing.

I understand you now on that point, I replied. What astonished me was that you should class injustice with superior character and intelligence and justice with the reverse.

Well, I do, he rejoined.

That is a much more stubborn position, my friend; and it is not so easy to see how to assail it. If you would admit that injustice, however well it pays, is nevertheless, as some people think, a defect and a discreditable thing, then we could argue on generally accepted principles. But now that you have gone so far as to rank it with superior character and intelligence, obviously you will say it is an admirable thing as well as a source of strength, and has all the other qualities we have attributed to justice.

You read my thoughts like a book, he replied.

However, I went on, it is no good shirking; I must go through with the argument, so long as I can be sure you are really speaking your mind. I do believe you are not playing with us now, Thrasymachus, but stating the truth as you conceive it.

Why not refute the doctrine? he said. What does it matter to you whether I believe it or not?

It does not matter, I replied.

Thrasymachus' assent was dragged out of him with a reluctance of which my account gives no idea. He was sweating at every pore, for the weather was hot; and I saw then what I had never seen before—Thrasymachus blushing. However, now that we had agreed that justice implies superior character and intelligence, injustice a deficiency in both respects, I went on:

Good; let us take that as settled. But we were also saying that injustice was a source of strength. Do you remember, Thrasymachus?

I do remember; only your last argument does not satisfy me, and I could say a good deal about that. But if I did, you would tell me I was haranguing you like a public meeting. So either let me speak my mind at length, or else, if you want to ask questions, ask them, and I will nod or shake my head, and say 'Hm?' as we do to encourage an old woman telling us a story.

No, please, said I; don't give your assent against your real opinion.



Anything to please you, he rejoined, since you won't let me have my say. What more do you want?

Nothing, I replied. If that is what you mean to do, I will go on with my questions.

Go on, then.

Well, to continue where we left off. I will repeat my question: What is the nature and quality of justice as compared with injustice? It was suggested, I believe, that injustice is the stronger and more effective of the two; but now we have seen that justice implies superior character and intelligence, it will not be hard to show that it will also be superior in power to injustice, which implies ignorance and stupidity; that must be obvious to anyone. However, I would rather look deeper into this matter than take it as settled off-hand. Would you agree that a state may be unjust and may try to enslave other states or to hold a number of others in subjection unjustly?

Of course it may, he said; above all if it is the best sort of state, which carries injustice to perfection.

I understand, said I; that was your view. But I am wondering whether a state can do without justice when it is asserting its superior power over another in that way.

Not if you are right, that justice implies intelligence; but if I am right, injustice will be needed.

I am delighted with your answer, Thrasymachus; this is much better than just nodding and shaking your head.

It is all to oblige you.

Thank you. Please add to your kindness by telling me whether any set of men—a state or an army or a band of robbers or thieves—who were acting together for some unjust purpose would be likely to succeed, if they were always trying to injure one another. Wouldn't they do better, if they did not?

Yes, they would.

Because, of course, such injuries must set them quarreling and hating each other. Only fair treatment can make men friendly and of one mind.

Be it so, he said; I don't want to differ from you.

Thank you once more, I replied. But don't you agree that, if injustice has this effect of implanting hatred wherever it exists, it must make any set of people, whether freemen or slaves, split into factions, at feud with one another and incapable of any joint action?

Yes.

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And so with any two individuals: injustice will set them at variance and make them enemies to each other as well as to everyone who is just.

It will.

And will it not keep its character and have the same effect, if it exists in a single person?

Let us suppose so.

The effect being, apparently, wherever it occurs—in a state or a family or an army or anywhere else—to make united action impossible because of factions and quarrels, and moreover to set whatever it resides in at enmity with itself as well as with any opponent and with all who are just.

Yes, certainly.

Then I suppose it will produce the same natural results in an individual. He will have a divided mind and be incapable of action, for lack of singleness of purpose; and he will be at enmity with all who are just as well as with himself?

Yes.

We have made out so far that just men are superior in character and intelligence and more effective in action. Indeed without justice men cannot act together at all; it is not strictly true to speak of such people as ever having effected any strong action in common. Had they been thoroughly unjust, they could not have kept their hands off one another; they must have had some justice in them, enough to keep them from injuring one another at the same time with their victims. This it was that enabled them to achieve what they did achieve: their injustice only partially incapacitated them for their career of wrongdoing; if perfect, it would have disabled them for any action whatsoever. I can see that all this is true, as against your original position. But there is a further question which we postponed: Is the life of justice the better and happier life? What we have said already leaves no doubt in my mind; but we ought to consider more carefully, for this is no light matter: it is the question, what is the right way to live?

Go on, then.

I will, said I. Some things have a function; a horse, for instance, is useful for certain kinds of work. Would you agree to define a thing's function in general as the work for which that thing is the only instrument or the best one?

I don't understand.

Take an example. We can see only with the eyes, hear only with the

ears; and seeing and hearing might be called the functions of those organs.

Yes.

Or again, you might cut vine-shoots with a carving-knife or a chisel or many other tools, but with none so well as with a pruning-knife made for the purpose; and we may call that its function.

True.

Now, I expect, you see better what I meant by suggesting that a thing's function is the work that it alone can do, or can do better than anything else.

Yes, I will accept that definition.

Good, said I; and to take the same examples, the eye and the ear, which we said have each its particular function: have they not also a specific excellence or virtue? Is not that always the case with things that have some appointed work to do?

Yes.

Now consider: is the eye likely to do its work well, if you take away its peculiar virtue and substitute the corresponding defect?

Of course not, if you mean substituting blindness for the power of sight.

I mean whatever its virtue may be; I have not come to that yet. I am only asking, whether it is true of things with a function—eyes or ears or anything else—that there is always some specific virtue which enables them to work well; and if they are deprived of that virtue, they work badly.

I think that is true.

Then the next point is this. Has the soul a function that can be performed by nothing else? Take for example such actions as deliberating or taking charge and exercising control: is not the soul the only thing of which you can say that these are its proper and peculiar work?

That is so.

And again, living—is not that above all the function of the soul?

No doubt.

And we also speak of the soul as having a certain specific excellence or virtue?

Yes.

Then, Thrasymachus, if the soul is robbed of its peculiar virtue, it cannot possibly do its work well. It must exercise its power of controlling and taking charge well or ill according as it is itself in a good or a bad state.

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That follows.

And did we not agree that the virtue of the soul is justice, and injustice its defect?

We did.

So it follows that a just soul, or in other words a just man, will live well; the unjust will not.

Apparently, according to your argument.

But living well involves well-being and happiness.

Naturally.

Then only the just man is happy; injustice will involve unhappiness.

Be it so.

But you cannot say it pays better to be unhappy.

Of course not.

Injustice then, my dear Thrasymachus, can never pay better than justice.

Well, he replied, this is a feast-day, and you may take all this as your share of the entertainment.

For which I have to thank you, Thrasymachus; you have been so gentle with me since you recovered your temper. It is my own fault if the entertainment has not been satisfactory. I have been behaving like a greedy guest, snatching a taste of every new dish that comes round before he has properly enjoyed the last. We began by looking for a definition of justice; but before we had found one, I dropped that question and hurried on to ask whether or not it involved superior character and intelligence; and then, as soon as another idea cropped up, that injustice pays better, I could not refrain from pursuing that.

So now the whole conversation has left me completely in the dark; for so long as I do not know what justice is, I am hardly likely to know whether or not it is a virtue, or whether it makes a man happy or unhappy.

I THOUGHT THAT, with these words, I was quit of the discussion; but it seems this was only a prelude. Glaucon, undaunted as ever, was not content to let Thrasymachus abandon the field.

Socrates, he broke out, you have made a show of proving that justice is better than injustice in every way. Is that enough, or do you want us to be really convinced?

Certainly I do, if it rests with me.

Then you are not going the right way about it. I want to know how

you classify the things we call good. Are there not some which we should wish to have, not for their consequences, but just for their own sake, such as harmless pleasures and enjoyments that have no further result beyond the satisfaction of the moment?

Yes, I think there are good things of that description.

And also some that we value both for their own sake and for their consequences—things like knowledge and health and the use of our eyes?

Yes.

And a third class which would include physical training, medical treatment, earning one's bread as a doctor or otherwise—useful, but burdensome things, which we want only for the sake of the profit or other benefit they bring.

Yes, there is that third class. What then?

In which class do you place justice?

I should say, in the highest, as a thing which anyone who is to gain happiness must value both for itself and for its results.

Well, that is not the common opinion. Most people would say it was one of those things, tiresome and disagreeable in themselves, which we cannot avoid practising for the sake of reward or a good reputation.

I know, said I; that is why Thrasymachus has been finding fault with it all this time and praising injustice. But I seem to be slow in seeing his point.

Listen to me, then, and see if you agree with mine. There was no need, I think, for Thrasymachus to yield so readily, like a snake you had charmed into submission; and nothing so far said about justice and injustice has been established to my satisfaction. I want to be told what each of them really is, and what effect each has, in itself, on the soul that harbors it, when all rewards and consequences are left out of account. So here is my plan, if you approve. I shall revive Thrasymachus' theory. First, I will state what is commonly held about the nature of justice and its origin; secondly, I shall maintain that it is always practised with reluctance, not as good in itself, but as a thing one cannot do without; and thirdly, that this reluctance is reasonable, because the life of injustice is much the better life of the two—so people say. That is not what I think myself, Socrates; only I am bewildered by all that Thrasymachus and ever so many others have dinned into my ears; and I have never yet heard the case for justice stated as I wish to hear it. You, I believe, if anyone, can tell me what

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is to be said in praise of justice in and for itself; that is what I want. Accordingly, I shall set you an example by glorifying the life of injustice with all the energy that I hope you will show later in denouncing it and exalting justice in its stead. Will that plan suit you?

Nothing could be better, I replied. Of all subjects this is one on which a sensible man must always be glad to exchange ideas.

Good, said Glaucon. Listen then, and I will begin with my first point: the nature and origin of justice.

What people say is that to do wrong is, in itself, a desirable thing; on the other hand, it is not at all desirable to suffer wrong, and the harm to the sufferer outweighs the advantage to the doer. Consequently, when men have had a taste of both, those who have not the power to seize the advantage and escape the harm decide that they would be better off if they made a compact neither to do wrong nor to suffer it. Hence they began to make laws and covenants with one another; and whatever the law prescribed they called lawful and right. That is what right or justice is and how it came into existence; it stands half-way between the best thing of all—to do wrong with impunity—and the worst, which is to suffer wrong without the power to retaliate. So justice is accepted as a compromise, and valued, not as good in itself, but for lack of power to do wrong; no man worthy of the name, who had that power, would ever enter into such a compact with anyone; he would be mad if he did. That, Socrates, is the nature of justice according to this account, and such the circumstances in which it arose.

The next point is that men practise it against the grain, for lack of power to do wrong. How true that is, we shall best see if we imagine two men, one just, the other unjust, given full license to do whatever they like, and then follow them to observe where each will be led by his desires. We shall catch the just man taking the same road as the unjust; he will be moved by self-interest, the end which it is natural to every creature to pursue as good, until forcibly turned aside by law and custom to respect the principle of equality.

Now, the easiest way to give them that complete liberty of action would be to imagine them possessed of the talisman found by Gyges, the ancestor of the famous Lydian. The story tells how he was a shepherd in the King's service. One day there was a great storm, and the ground where his flock was feeding was rent by an earthquake. Astonished at the sight, he went down into the chasm and saw, among other wonders of which the story tells, a brazen horse, hollow, with windows

in its sides. Peering in, he saw a dead body, which seemed to be of more than human size. It was naked save for a gold ring, which he took from the finger and made his way out. When the shepherds met, as they did every month, to send an account to the King of the state of his flocks, Gyges came wearing the ring. As he was sitting with the others, he happened to turn the bezel of the ring inside his hand. At once he became invisible, and his companions, to his surprise, began to speak of him as if he had left them. Then, as he was fingering the ring, he turned the bezel outwards and became visible again. With that, he set about testing the ring to see if it really had this power, and always with the same result: according as he turned the bezel inside or out he vanished and reappeared. After this discovery he contrived to be one of the messengers sent to the court. There he seduced the Queen, and with her help murdered the King and seized the throne.

Now suppose there were two such magic rings, and one were given to the just man, the other to the unjust. No one, it is commonly believed, would have such iron strength of mind as to stand fast in doing right or keep his hands off other men's goods, when he could go to the market-place and fearlessly help himself to anything he wanted, enter houses and sleep with any woman he chose, set prisoners free and kill men at his pleasure, and in a word go about among men with the powers of a god. He would behave no better than the other; both would take the same course. Surely this would be strong proof that men do right only under compulsion; no individual thinks of it as good for him personally, since he does wrong whenever he finds he has the power. Every man believes that wrongdoing pays him personally much better, and, according to this theory, that is the truth. Granted full license to do as he liked, people would think him a miserable fool if they found him refusing to wrong his neighbors or to touch their belongings, though in public they would keep up a pretense of praising his conduct, for fear of being wronged themselves. So much for that.

Finally, if we are really to judge between the two lives, the only way is to contrast the extremes of justice and injustice. We can best do that by imagining our two men to be perfect types, and crediting both to the full with the qualities they need for their respective ways of life. To begin with the unjust man: he must be like any consummate master of a craft, a physician or a captain, who, knowing just what his art can do, never tries to do more, and can always retrieve a

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false step. The unjust man, if he is to reach perfection, must be equally discreet in his criminal attempts, and he must not be found out, or we shall think him a bungler; for the highest pitch of injustice is to seem just when you are not. So we must endow our man with the full complement of injustice; we must allow him to have secured a spotless reputation for virtue while committing the blackest crimes; he must be able to retrieve any mistake, to defend himself with convincing eloquence if his misdeeds are denounced, and, when force is required, to bear down all opposition by his courage and strength and by his command of friends and money.

Now set beside this paragon the just man in his simplicity and nobleness, one who, in Aeschylus' words, 'would be, not seem, the best.' There must, indeed, be no such seeming; for if his character were apparent, his reputation would bring him honors and rewards, and then we should not know whether it was for their sake that he was just or for justice's sake alone. He must be stripped of everything but justice, and denied every advantage the other enjoyed. Doing no wrong, he must have the worst reputation for wrong-doing, to test whether his virtue is proof against all that comes of having a bad name; and under this lifelong imputation of wickedness, let him hold on his course of justice unwavering to the point of death. And so, when the two men have carried their justice and injustice to the last extreme, we may judge which is the happier.

My dear Glaucon, I exclaimed, how vigorously you scour these two characters clean for inspection, as if you were burnishing a couple of statues!

I am doing my best, he answered. Well, given two such characters, it is not hard, I fancy, to describe the sort of life that each of them may expect; and if the description sounds rather coarse, take it as coming from those who cry up the merits of injustice rather than from me. They will tell you that our just man will be thrown into prison, scourged and racked, will have his eyes burnt out, and, after every kind of torment, be impaled. That will teach him how much better it is to seem virtuous than to be so. In fact those lines of Aeschylus I quoted are more fitly applied to the unjust man, who, they say, is a realist and does not live for appearances: 'he would be, not seem' unjust,

reaping the harvest sown  
In those deep furrows of the thoughtful heart  
Whence wisdom springs.



With his reputation for virtue, he will hold offices of state, ally himself by marriage to any family he may choose, become a partner in any business, and, having no scruples about being dishonest, turn all these advantages to profit. If he is involved in a lawsuit, public or private, he will get the better of his opponents, grow rich on the proceeds, and be able to help his friends and harm his enemies. Finally, he can make sacrifices to the gods and dedicate offerings with due magnificence, and, being in a much better position than the just man to serve the gods as well as his chosen friends, he may reasonably hope to stand higher in the favor of heaven. So much better, they say, Socrates, is the life prepared for the unjust by gods and men.

Here Glaucon ended, and I was meditating a reply, when his brother Adeimantus exclaimed:

Surely, Socrates, you cannot suppose that that is all there is to be said.

Why, isn't it? said I.

The most essential part of the case has not been mentioned, he replied.

Well, I answered, there is a proverb about a brother's aid. If Glaucon has failed, it is for you to make good his shortcomings; though, so far as I am concerned, he has said quite enough to put me out of the running and leave me powerless to rescue the cause of justice.

Nonsense, said Adeimantus; there is more to be said, and you must listen to me. If we want a clear view of what I take to be Glaucon's meaning, we must study the opposite side of the case, the arguments used when justice is praised and injustice condemned. When children are told by their fathers and all their pastors and masters that it is a good thing to be just, what is commended is not justice in itself but the respectability it brings. They are to let men see how just they are, in order to gain high positions and marry well and win all the other advantages which Glaucon mentioned, since the just man owes all these to his good reputation. :

In this matter of having a good name, they go farther still: they throw in the favorable opinion of heaven, and can tell us of no end of good things with which they say the gods reward piety. There is the good old Hesiod, who says the gods make the just man's oak-trees 'bear acorns at the top and bees in the middle; and their sheep's fleeces are heavy with wool,' and a great many other blessings of that sort. And Homer speaks in the same strain:

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As when a blameless king fears the gods and upholds right judgment; then the dark earth yields wheat and barley, and the trees are laden with fruit; the young of his flocks are strong, and the sea gives abundance of fish.

Musaeus and his son Eumolpus enlarge in still more spirited terms upon the rewards from heaven they promise to the righteous. They take them to the other world and provide them with a banquet of the Blest, where they sit for all time carousing with garlands on their heads, as if virtue could not be more nobly recompensed than by an eternity of intoxication. Others, again, carry the rewards of heaven yet a stage farther: the pious man who keeps his oaths is to have children's children and to leave a posterity after him. When they have sung the praises of justice in that strain, with more to the same effect, they proceed to plunge the sinners and unrighteous men into a pool of mud in the world below, and set them to fetch water in a sieve. Even in this life, too, they give them a bad name, and make out that the unjust suffer all those penalties which Glaucon described as falling upon the good man who has a bad reputation: they can think of no others. That is how justice is recommended and injustice denounced.

Besides all this, think of the way in which justice and injustice are spoken of, not only in ordinary life, but by the poets. All with one voice reiterate that self-control and justice, admirable as they may be, are difficult and irksome, whereas vice and injustice are pleasant and very easily to be had; it is mere convention to regard them as discreditable. They tell us that dishonesty generally pays better than honesty. They will cheerfully speak of a bad man as happy and load him with honors and social esteem, provided he be rich and otherwise powerful; while they despise and disregard one who has neither power nor wealth, though all the while they acknowledge that he is the better man of the two.

Most surprising of all is what they say about the gods and virtue: that heaven itself often allots misfortunes and a hard life to the good man, and gives prosperity to the wicked. Mendicant priests and sooth-sayers come to the rich man's door with a story of a power they possess by the gift of heaven to atone for any offense that he or his ancestors have committed with incantations and sacrifice, agreeably accompanied by feasting. If he wishes to injure an enemy, he can, at a trifling expense, do him a hurt with equal ease, whether he be an honest man or not, by means of certain invocations and spells which,

as they profess, prevail upon the gods to do their bidding. In support of all these claims they call the poets to witness. Some, by way of advertising the easiness of vice, quote the words: 'Unto wickedness men attain easily and in multitudes; smooth is the way and her dwelling is very near at hand. But the gods have ordained much sweat upon the path to virtue' and a long road that is rough and steep.

Now, my dear Socrates, when all this stuff is talked about the estimation in which virtue and vice are held by heaven and by mankind, what effect can we suppose it has upon the mind of a young man quick-witted enough to gather honey from all these flowers of popular wisdom and to draw his own conclusions as to the sort of person he should be and the way he should go in order to lead the best possible life? In all likelihood he would ask himself, in Pindar's words: 'Will the way of right or the by-paths of deceit lead me to the higher fortress,' where I may entrench myself for the rest of my life? For, according to what they tell me, I have nothing to gain but trouble and manifest loss from being honest, unless I also get a name for being so; whereas, if I am dishonest and provide myself with a reputation for honesty, they promise me a marvelous career. Very well, then; since 'outward seeming,' as wise men inform me, 'overpowers the truth' and decides the question of happiness, I had better go in for appearances wholeheartedly. I must ensconce myself behind an imposing façade designed to look like virtue, and trail the fox behind me, 'the cunning shifty fox'—Archilochus knew the world as well as any man. You may say it is not so easy to be wicked without ever being found out. Perhaps not; but great things are never easy. Anyhow, if we are to reach happiness, everything we have been told points to this as the road to be followed. We will form secret societies to save us from exposure; besides, there are men who teach the art of winning over popular assemblies and courts of law; so that, one way or another, by persuasion or violence, we shall get the better of our neighbors without being punished. You might object that the gods are not to be deceived and are beyond the reach of violence. But suppose that there are no gods, or that they do not concern themselves with the doings of men; why should we concern ourselves to deceive them? Or, if the gods do exist and care for mankind, all we know or have ever heard about them comes from current tradition and from the poets who recount their family history, and these same authorities also assure us that they can be won over and turned from their purpose 'by sacrifice and humble prayers' and votive offerings. We must either accept both

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these statements or neither. If we are to accept both, we had better do wrong and use part of the proceeds to offer sacrifice. By being just we may escape the punishment of heaven, but we shall be renouncing the profits of injustice; whereas by doing wrong we shall make our profit and escape punishment into the bargain, by means of those entreaties which win over the gods when we transgress and do amiss. But then, you will say, in the other world the penalty for our misdeeds on earth will fall either upon us or upon our children's children. We can counter that objection by reckoning on the great efficacy of mystic rites and the divinities of absolution, vouched for by the most advanced societies and by the descendants of the gods who have appeared as poets and spokesmen of heavenly inspiration.

What reason, then, remains for preferring justice to the extreme of injustice, when common belief and the best authorities promise us the fulfilment of our desires in this life and the next, if only we conceal our ill-doing under a veneer of decent behavior? The upshot is, Socrates, that no man possessed of superior powers of mind or person or rank or wealth will set any value on justice; he is more likely to laugh when he hears it praised. So, even one who could prove my case false and were quite sure that justice is best, far from being indignant with the unjust, will be very ready to excuse them. He will know that, here and there, a man may refrain from wrong because it revolts some instinct he is graced with or because he has come to know the truth; no one else is virtuous of his own will; it is only lack of spirit or the infirmity of age or some other weakness that makes men condemn the iniquities they have not the strength to practise. This is easily seen: give such a man the power, and he will be the first to use it to the utmost.

What lies at the bottom of all this is nothing but the fact from which Glaucon, as well as I, started upon this long discourse. We put it to you, Socrates, with all respect, in this way. All you who profess to sing the praises of right conduct, from the ancient heroes whose legends have survived down to the men of the present day, have never denounced injustice or praised justice apart from the reputation, honors, and rewards they bring; but what effect either of them in itself has upon its possessor when it dwells in his soul unseen of gods or men, no poet or ordinary man has ever yet explained. No one has proved that a soul can harbor no worse evil than injustice, no greater good than justice. Had all of you said that from the first and tried to convince us from our youth up, we should not be keeping watch upon

our neighbors to prevent them from doing wrong to us, but everyone would keep a far more effectual watch over himself, for fear lest by wronging others he should open his doors to the worst of all evils.

That, Socrates, is the view of justice and injustice which Thrasy-machus and, no doubt, others would state, perhaps in even stronger words. For myself, I believe it to be a gross perversion of their true worth and effect; but, as I must frankly confess, I have put the case with all the force I could muster because I want to hear the other side from you. You must not be content with proving that justice is superior to injustice; you must make clear what good or what harm each of them does to its possessor, taking it simply in itself and, as Glaucon required, leaving out of account the reputation it bears. For unless you deprive each of its true reputation and attach to it the false one, we shall say that you are praising or denouncing nothing more than the appearances in either case, and recommending us to do wrong without being found out; and that you hold with Thrasy-machus that right means what is good for someone else, being the interest of the stronger, and wrong is what really pays, serving one's own interest at the expense of the weaker. You have agreed that justice belongs to that highest class of good things which are worth having not only for their consequences, but much more for their own sakes—things like sight and hearing, knowledge, and health, whose value is genuine and intrinsic, not dependent on opinion. So I want you, in commending justice, to consider only how justice, in itself, benefits a man who has it in him, and how injustice harms him, leaving rewards and reputation out of account. I might put up with others dwelling on those outward effects as a reason for praising the one and condemning the other; but from you, who have spent your life in the study of this question, I must beg leave to demand something better. You must not be content merely to prove that justice is superior to injustice, but explain how one is good, the other evil, in virtue of the intrinsic effect each has on its possessor, whether gods or men see it or not.

### *Social Organization*

WE THINK OF JUSTICE AS A QUALITY that may exist in a whole community as well as in an individual, and the community is the bigger of the two. Possibly, then, we may find justice there in larger proportions, easier to make out. So I suggest that we should begin by inquiring what justice means in a state. Then we can go

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on to look for its counterpart on a smaller scale in the individual.

That seems a good plan, he agreed.

Well then, I continued, suppose we imagine a state coming into being before our eyes. We might then be able to watch the growth of justice or of injustice within it. When that is done, we may hope it will be easier to find what we are looking for.

Much easier.

Shall we try, then, to carry out this scheme? I fancy it will be no light undertaking; so you had better think twice.

No need for that, said Adeimantus. Don't waste any more time.

My notion is, said I, that a state comes into existence because no individual is self-sufficing; we all have many needs. But perhaps you can suggest some different origin for the foundation of a community?

No, I agree with you.

So, having all these needs, we call in one another's help to satisfy our various requirements; and when we have collected a number of helpers and associates to live together in one place, we call that settlement a state. [*In time, the State grows both large and luxurious.*]

Then we must enlarge our community. The healthy original one will not be big enough now; it must be swollen up with a whole multitude of callings not ministering to any bare necessity: hunters and fishermen, for instance; artists in sculpture, painting, and music; poets with their attendant train of professional reciters, actors, dancers, producers; and makers of all sorts of household gear, including everything for women's adornment. And we shall want more servants: children's nurses and attendants, lady's maids, barbers, cooks and confectioners. And then swineherds—there was no need for them in our original state, but we shall want them now; and a great quantity of sheep and cattle too, if people are going to live on meat.

The country, too, which was large enough to support the original inhabitants, will now be too small. If we are to have enough pasture and plow land, we shall have to cut off a slice of our neighbors' territory; and if they too are not content with necessities, but give themselves up to getting unlimited wealth, they will want a slice of ours.

That is inevitable, Socrates.

So the next thing will be, Glaucon, that we shall be at war.

No doubt.

We need not say yet whether war does good or harm, but only that we have discovered its origin in desires which are the most fruitful source of evils both to individuals and to states.

Quite true.

This will mean a considerable addition to our community—a whole army, to go out to battle with any invader, in defense of all this property and of the citizens we have been describing.

Why so? Can't they defend themselves?

Not if the principle was right, which we all accepted in framing our society. You remember we agreed that no one man can practice many trades or arts satisfactorily.

True.

Well, is not the conduct of war an art, quite as important as shoe-making?

Yes.

These Guardians of our state, then, inasmuch as their work is the most important of all, will need the most complete freedom from other occupations and the greatest amount of skill and practice.

I quite agree.

And also a native aptitude for their calling.

Certainly.

So it is our business to define, if we can, the natural gifts that fit men to be Guardians of a commonwealth, and to select them accordingly. It will certainly be a formidable task; but we must grapple with it to the best of our power.

Yes.

### *Qualities and Education of Guardians*

*[The education of the Guardians must be most carefully planned and supervised. The reading material and stories given them while children must be carefully censored. Particularly the notorious, sometimes riotous conduct of the gods and of Hellenic heroes must be hidden from the youths. This means, in effect, the banning of poetry and drama. They must "hold heaven and their parents in reverence and value good relations with one another." They "ought not overmuch give to laughter. Overmuch laughter tends to provoke an equally violent reaction." They must be taught rhythm and harmony because the aim of education must be insight into the harmonious order of the universe.]*

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**D**ON'T YOU THINK THEN, said I, that, for the purpose of keeping guard, a young man should have much the same temperament and qualities as a well-bred watch-dog? I mean, for instance, that both must have quick senses to detect an enemy, swiftness in pursuing him, and strength, if they have to fight when they have caught him.

Yes, they will need all those qualities.

And also courage, if they are to fight well.

Of course.

And courage, in dog or horse or any other creature, implies a spirited disposition. You must have noticed that a high spirit is unconquerable. Every soul possessed of it is fearless and indomitable in the face of any danger.

Yes, I have noticed that.

So now we know what physical qualities our Guardian must have, and also that he must be of a spirited temper. If a man is to be gentle towards his own people whom he knows, he must have an instinctive love of wisdom and understanding.

Agreed.

So the nature required to make a really noble Guardian of our commonwealth will be swift and strong, spirited, and philosophic.

Quite so.

Given those natural qualities, then, how are these Guardians to be brought up and educated?

Again, a high value must be set upon truthfulness. If we were right in saying that gods have no use for falsehood and it is useful to mankind only in the way of a medicine, obviously a medicine should be handled by no one but a physician.

Obviously.

If anyone, then, is to practise deception, either on the country's enemies or on its citizens, it must be the Rulers of the commonwealth, acting for its benefit; no one else may meddle with this privilege.

Next, our young men will need self-control; and for the mass of mankind that chiefly means obeying their governors, and themselves governing their appetite for the pleasures of eating and drinking and sex. Here again we shall disapprove of much that we find in Homer.

Knowledge they must have of baseness and insanity both in men and women, but not reproduce such behavior in life or in art. The knowledge of what wickedness is should have come late in life, not from a consciousness of its presence in his own soul, but from long



practice in observing its evil effects in the souls of others. It should be a matter of knowledge, not of personal experience.

A good portrait of a genuine judge.

Yes, and of the good judge, to whom your question referred; for his merit consists in the goodness of his soul. Your cunning person, who is quick to suspect evil through having been so often guilty of it himself, and fancies himself master of all the tricks, has all his own wickedness to put him on his guard against others, and so he seems formidable, so long as he is dealing with men of his own stamp. But as soon as he comes in contact with honest men older than himself, he appears stupid with his ill-timed suspicions; he cannot recognize a sound character, because he has no soundness in himself to judge by. If he passes in his own eyes and in others' estimation as on the whole more clever than stupid, it is because he falls in with more rogues than honest men.

Quite true.

For a good and understanding judge, then, we must look rather to the other type. Vice can never know both itself and virtue; but virtue, in a well-trained nature, will in time come to a knowledge of vice, as well as of itself. So it is the virtuous man, as I believe, that will make the wise judge.

I agree.

One thing, however, is easily settled, namely that grace and seemliness of form and movement go with good rhythm; ungracefulness and unseemliness with bad.

Naturally.

And again, good or bad rhythm and also tunefulness or discord in music go with the quality of the poetry; for they will be modeled after its form, if, as we have said, meter and music must be adapted to the sense of the words.

Well, they must be so adapted.

And the content of the poetry and the manner in which it is expressed depend, in their turn, on moral character.

Of course.

Thus, then, excellence of form and content in discourse and of musical expression and rhythm, and grace of form and movement, all depend on goodness of nature, by which I mean, not the foolish simplicity sometimes called by courtesy 'good nature,' but a nature in which goodness of character has been well and truly established.

Yes, certainly.

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So, if our young men are to do their proper work in life, they must follow after these qualities wherever they may be found. And they are to be found in every sort of workmanship, such as painting, weaving, embroidery, architecture, the making of furniture; and also in the human frame and in all the works of nature: in all these grace and seemliness may be present or absent. And the absence of grace, rhythm, harmony is nearly allied to baseness of thought and expression and baseness of character; whereas their presence goes with that moral excellence and self-mastery of which they are the embodiment.

Then, is it not true, in the same way, that we and these Guardians we are to bring up will never be fully cultivated until we can recognize the essential forms of temperance, courage, liberality, high-mindedness, and all other kindred qualities, and also their opposites, wherever they occur? We must be able to discern the presence of these forms themselves and also of their images in anything that contains them, realizing that, to recognize either, the same skill and practice are required, and that the most insignificant instance is not beneath our notice.

That must surely be so.

And for him who has eyes to see it, there can be no fairer sight than the harmonious union of a noble character in the soul with an outward form answering thereto and bearing the same stamp of beauty.

There cannot.

And the fairest is also the most lovable.

Of course.

So the man who has been educated in poetry and music will be in love with such a person, but never with one who lacks this harmony.

Not if the defect should lie in the soul; if it were only some bodily blemish, he would accept that with patience and good-will.

I understand, said I; you are or have been in love with a person like that, and I agree. But tell me: is excessive pleasure compatible with temperance?

How can it be, when it unsettles the mind no less than pain?

Or with virtue in general?

Certainly not.

Next, the upbringing of our young men must include physical training; and this must be no less carefully regulated throughout life from childhood onwards. In my view, which I should like you to consider, it is not true that a sound and healthy body is enough to produce a sound mind; while, on the contrary, the sound mind has power in

itself to make the bodily condition as perfect as it can be. What do you say?

I agree with you.

We should do well, then, to leave the care of the body in detail to those minds which have already been thoroughly cared for themselves. We may save time by giving only a rough outline.

Surely there could be no worse hindrance than this excessive care of the body, over and above the exercise it needs to keep it in health. It becomes a nuisance to anyone who has to manage a household or serve in the field or hold any office at home.

Worst of all, I added, it is prejudicial to learning of all kinds and to thought and meditation. The constant apprehension of headaches and dizziness, for which study is held responsible, is a bar to any exercise or test of intellectual qualities, when a man is always fancying himself ill and never stops being anxious about his body.

Naturally.

Now, the ordinary athlete undergoes the rigors of training for the sake of muscular strength; but ours will do so rather with a view to stimulating the spirited element in their nature. So perhaps the purpose of the two established branches of education is not, as some suppose, the improvement of the soul in one case and of the body in the other. Both, it may be, aim chiefly at improving the soul.

How so?

Have you noticed how a life-long devotion to either branch, to the exclusion of the other, affects the mind, resulting in an uncivilized hardness in the one case, and an over-civilized softness in the other?

On the other hand, there are the consequences of hard bodily exercise and high living, with no attempt to cultivate the mind or use the intellect in study. At first, the sense of physical fitness fills a man with self-confidence and energy and makes him twice the man he was. But suppose he does nothing else and holds aloof from any sort of culture; then, even if there was something in him capable of desiring knowledge, it is starved of instruction and never encouraged to think for itself by taking part in rational discussion or intellectual pursuits of any kind; and so it grows feeble for lack of stimulus and nourishment, and deaf and blind because the darkness that clouds perception is never cleared away. Such a man ends by being wholly uncultivated and a hater of reason. Having no more use for reasonable persuasion, he gains all his ends by savage violence, like a brute beast, and he

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lives in a dull stupor of ignorance with no touch of inward harmony or grace.

That is exactly what happens.

There are, then, these two elements in the soul, the spirited and the philosophic; and it is for their sake, as I should say, and not (except incidentally) for the sake of soul and body, that heaven has given to mankind those two branches of education. The purpose is to bring the two elements into tune with one another by adjusting the tension of each to the right pitch. So one who can apply to the soul both kinds of education blended in perfect proportion will be master of a nobler sort of musical harmony than was ever made by tuning the strings of the lyre.

So much, then, for the outlines of education and nurture.

### *Selection of Guardians*

GOOD, SAID I; and what is the next point to be settled? Is it not the question, which of these Guardians are to be rulers and which are to obey?

No doubt.

So the kind of men we must choose from among the Guardians will be those who, when we look at the whole course of their lives, are found to be full of zeal to do whatever they believe is for the good of the commonwealth and never willing to act against its interest.

Yes, they will be the men we want.

We must watch them, I think, at every age and see whether they are capable of preserving this conviction that they must do what is best for the community, never forgetting it or allowing themselves to be either forced or bewitched into throwing it over.

We must also subject them to ordeals of toil and pain and watch for the same qualities there. And we must observe them when exposed to the test of yet a third kind of bewitchment. As people lead colts up to alarming noises to see whether they are timid, so these young men must be brought into terrifying situations and then into scenes of pleasure, which will put them to severer proof than gold tried in the furnace. If we find one bearing himself well in all these trials and resisting every enchantment, a true guardian of himself, preserving always that perfect rhythm and harmony of being which he has acquired from his training in music and poetry, such a one

will be of the greatest service to the commonwealth as well as to himself. Whenever we find one who has come unscathed through every test in childhood, youth, and manhood, we shall set him as a Ruler to watch over the commonwealth; he will be honored in life, and after death receive the highest tribute of funeral rites and other memorials. All who do not reach this standard we must reject. And that, I think, my dear Glaucon, may be taken as an outline of the way in which we shall select Guardians to be set in authority as Rulers.

I am very much of your mind.

These, then, may properly be called Guardians in the fullest sense, who will insure that neither foes without shall have the power, nor friends within the wish, to do harm. Those young men whom up to now we have been speaking of as Guardians, will be better described as Auxiliaries, who will enforce the decisions of the Rulers.

I agree.

Let us consider how they should live and be housed. First, none of them must possess any private property beyond the barest necessities. Next, no one is to have any dwelling or store-house that is not open for all to enter at will. Their food, in the quantities required by men of temperance and courage who are in training for war, they will receive from the other citizens as the wages of their guardianship, fixed so that there shall be just enough for the year with nothing over; and they will have meals in common and all live together like soldiers in a camp. If ever they should come to possess land of their own and houses and money, they would give up their guardianship for the management of their farms and households and become tyrants at enmity with their fellow citizens instead of allies. And so they would pass all their lives in hating and being hated, plotting and being plotted against, in much greater fear of their enemies at home than of any foreign foe, and fast heading for the destruction that will soon overwhelm their country with themselves. For all these reasons let us say that this is how our Guardians are to be housed and otherwise provided for, and let us make laws accordingly.

By all means, said Glaucon.

**I** WONDER WHETHER YOU WILL AGREE on another point closely connected with that and concerned with the craftsmen. Is it not true that they also are spoilt and turned into bad workmen by wealth and by poverty alike?

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How so?

In this way. When a potter grows rich, will he go on with his trade? Does he not become idle and careless, and consequently a worse potter? And equally, if he is too poor to provide himself with tools and other things he needs for his craft, his work will be worse, and he will not make such good craftsmen of his sons and apprentices. So work and workmen suffer from both causes, poverty and riches as well.

Evidently.

Here, then, are some more evils which must not elude the vigilance of our Guardians and find their way into the commonwealth: riches and poverty. The one produces luxury and idleness, the other low standards of conduct and workmanship; and both have a subversive tendency.

### *Man and the State*

*[Socrates at this point makes a complicated analogy between man and the state and determines that they have similar virtues. There are three parts to man's soul: the appetites; the spirited, or passionate, element, giving him a sense of honor and valor; and reason, which gives him wisdom and self-restraint. Justice consists of reason ruling over the spirited element and the appetites. It involves not only man's social behavior but an inner harmony within himself. In the state, reason is represented by the deliberative and executive functions, the spirited element by the armed forces, and the appetites by the productive groups—artisans, merchants and farmers. All elements are necessary to the perfect state, but justice in the state, as in the individual, consists of the reason (Guardians) ruling over the spirited element (armed forces) and the appetites (working people).]*

### *The Role of Women*

**W** E DID AGREE THAT DIFFERENT NATURES should have different occupations, and that the natures of man and woman are different; and yet we are now saying that these different natures are to have the same occupations. Is that the charge against us?

Exactly.

If, then, we find that either the male sex or the female is specially

qualified for any particular form of occupation, then that occupation, we shall say, ought to be assigned to one sex or the other. But if the only difference appears to be that the male begets and the female brings forth, we shall conclude that no difference between man and woman has yet been produced that is relevant to our purpose. We shall continue to think it proper for our Guardians and their wives to share in the same pursuits.

One woman may have a natural gift for medicine or for music, another may not.

Surely.

Is it not also true that a woman may, or may not, be warlike or athletic?

I think so.

And again, one may love knowledge, another hate it; one may be high-spirited, another spiritless?

True again.

It follows that one woman will be fitted by nature to be a Guardian, another will not; because these were the qualities for which we selected our men Guardians. So for the purpose of keeping watch over the commonwealth, woman has the same nature as man, save in so far as she is weaker.

So it appears.

It follows that women of this type must be selected to share the life and duties of Guardians with men of the same type, since they are competent and of a like nature, and the same natures must be allowed the same pursuits.

Yes.

We come round, then, to our former position, that there is nothing contrary to nature in giving our Guardians' wives the same training for mind and body. The practice we proposed to establish was not impossible or visionary, since it was in accordance with nature. Rather, the contrary practice which now prevails turns out to be unnatural.

## *Marriage and the Family*

*[When Socrates discusses marriage and the family it must be remembered that his chief aim is the unity and strength of the state. The unity of the state requires first that the Guardians not be tempted to place family interests above the general interest. Sec-*

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*only, the strength of the state requires the application to citizens of those eugenic breeding methods used with domestic animals. In order to realize the first requirement the family system will be abolished for the Guardians, and, just like property, children and wives will be held in common. In order to realize genetic breeding a system of lots must be rigged by the Rulers so the others will think they are mating by equal chance, but in reality the mating will be predetermined on a scientific basis. This is the first time Socrates openly calls for deception on the part of the Rulers, but he has said before, "If anyone is to practice deception either on the country's enemies or on its citizens it must be the Rulers of the community acting for its benefit. No one else may meddle with it."]*

SO FAR, THEN, in regulating the position of women, we may claim to have come safely through with one hazardous proposal, that male and female Guardians shall have all occupations in common. The consistency of the argument is an assurance that the plan is a good one and also feasible. We are like swimmers who have breasted the first wave without being swallowed up.

Not such a small wave either.

You will not call it large when you see the next.

Let me have a look at the next one, then.

Here it is: a law which follows from that principle and all that has gone before, namely that, of these Guardians, no one man and one woman are to set up house together privately: wives are to be held in common by all; so too are the children, and no parent is to know his own child, nor any child his parent.

It follows from what we have just said that, if we are to keep our flock at the highest pitch of excellence, there should be as many unions of the best of both sexes, and as few of the inferior, as possible, and that only the offspring of the better unions should be kept. And again, no one but the Rulers must know how all this is being effected; otherwise our herd of Guardians may become rebellious.

Quite true.

We must, then, institute certain festivals at which we shall bring together the brides and the bridegrooms. There will be sacrifices, and our poets will write songs befitting the occasion. The number of marriages we shall leave to the Rulers' discretion. They will aim at keep-



ing the number of the citizens as constant as possible, having regard to losses caused by war, epidemics, and so on; and they must do their best to see that our state does not become either great or small.

Very good.

I think they will have to invent some ingenious system of drawing lots, so that, at each pairing off, the inferior candidate may blame his luck rather than the Rulers.

Yes, certainly.

Well, if our Rulers are worthy of the name, and their Auxiliaries likewise, these latter will be ready to do what they are told, and the Rulers, in giving their commands, will themselves obey our laws and will be faithful to their spirit in any details we leave to their discretion.

No doubt.

It is for you, then, as their lawgiver, who have already selected the men, to select for association with them women who are so far as possible of the same natural capacity. Now since none of them will have any private home of his own, but they will share the same dwelling and eat at common tables, the two sexes will be together; and meeting without restriction for exercise and all through their upbringing, they will surely be drawn towards union with one another by a necessity of their nature—necessity is not too strong a word, I think?

Moreover, young men who acquit themselves well in war and other duties, should be given, among other rewards and privileges, more liberal opportunities to sleep with a wife, for the further purpose that, with good excuse, as many as possible of the children may be begotten of such fathers.

Yes.

As soon as children are born, they will be taken in charge by officers appointed for the purpose, who may be men or women or both, since offices are to be shared by both sexes. The children of the better parents they will carry to the crèche to be reared in the care of nurses living apart in a certain quarter of the city. Those of the inferior parents and any children of the rest that are born defective will be hidden away, in some appropriate manner that must be kept secret.

They must be, if the breed of our Guardians is to be kept pure.

These officers will also superintend the nursing of the children. They will bring the mothers to the crèche when their breasts are full, while taking every precaution that no mother shall know her own child; and if the mothers have not enough milk, they will provide wet-nurses. They will limit the time during which the mothers will suckle

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their children, and hand over all the hard work and sitting up at night to nurses and attendants.

That will make child-bearing an easy business for the Guardians' wives.

So it should be.

But you will remember how, when we compared a well-ordered community to the body which shares in the pleasures and pains of any member, we saw in this unity the greatest good that a state can enjoy. So the conclusion is that our commonwealth owes to this sharing of wives and children by its protectors its enjoyment of the greatest of all goods.

Yes, that follows.

Moreover, this agrees with our principle that they were not to have houses or lands or any property of their own, but to receive sustenance from the other citizens, as wages for their guardianship, and to consume it in common. Only so will they keep to their true character; and our present proposals will do still more to make them genuine Guardians. They will not rend the community asunder by each applying that word 'mine' to different things and dragging off whatever he can get for himself into a private home, where he will have his separate family, forming a center of exclusive joys and sorrows. Rather they will all, so far as may be, feel together and aim at the same ends, because they are convinced that all their interests are identical.

### *The Possibility of a Philosophic Ruler*

*[Having described the ideal Guardians, Socrates admits that the State which they would protect will never exist "until philosophers are kings." Is there, Adeimantus asks, any existing form of society congenial to philosophy?]*

NOT ONE. That is precisely my complaint: no existing constitution is worthy of the philosophic nature; that is why it is perverted and loses its character. As a foreign seed sown in a different soil yields to the new influence and degenerates into the local variety, so this nature cannot now keep its proper virtue, but falls away and takes on an alien character. If it can ever find the ideal form of society, as perfect as itself, then we shall see that it is in reality something divine, while all other natures and ways of life are merely human.

However, it is no wonder that most people have no faith in our proposals, for they have never seen our words come true in fact. They have heard plenty of eloquence, not like our own unstudied discourse, but full of balanced phrases and artfully matched antitheses; but a man with a character so finely balanced as to be a match for the ideal of virtue in word and deed, ruling in a society as perfect as himself—that they have never yet seen in a single instance.

The public will change their opinion, if you avoid controversy and try gently to remove their prejudice against the love of learning. Repeat our description of the philosopher's nature and of his pursuits, and they will see that you do not mean the sort of person they imagine. It is only ill-temper and malice in oneself that call out those qualities in others who are not that way inclined; and I will anticipate you by declaring that, in my belief, the public with a few exceptions is not of such an unyielding temper.

The philosopher, in constant companionship with the divine order of the world, will reproduce that order in his soul and, so far as man may, become godlike; though here, as everywhere, there will be scope for detraction.

Quite true.

So they will no longer be angry with us for saying that, until philosophers hold power, neither states nor individuals will have rest from trouble, and the commonwealth we have imagined will never be realized.

One would be enough to effect all this reform that now seems so incredible, if he had subjects disposed to obey; for it is surely not impossible that they should consent to carry out our laws and customs when laid down by a ruler. It would be no miracle if others should think as we do; and we have, I believe.

### *The Kind of Knowledge Needed by the Guardians*

WE HAVE NOW DISPOSED OF the women and children, but we must start all over again upon the training of the Rulers. You remember how their love for their country was to be proved, by the tests of pain and pleasure, to be a faith that no toil or danger, no turn of fortune could make them abandon. All who failed were to be rejected; only the man who came out flawless, like gold tried in the fire, was to be made a Ruler with privileges and rewards in life and after

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death. So much was said, when our argument turned aside, as if hoping, with veiled face, to slip past the danger that now lies in our path.

Quite true, I remember.

Yes, I shrank from the bold words which have now been spoken; but now we have ventured to declare that our Guardians in the fullest sense must be philosophers. And do not suppose that there will be many of them.

What do you mean? Is there something still higher to be known?

There is; for you have often been told that the highest object of knowledge is the essential nature of the Good, from which everything that is good and right derives its value for us. You must have been expecting me to speak of this now, and to add that we have no sufficient knowledge of it. I need not tell you that, without that knowledge, to know everything else, however well, would be of no value to us, just as it is of no use to possess anything without getting the good of it. What advantage can there be in possessing everything except what is good, or in understanding everything else while of the good and desirable we know nothing?

None whatever.

At any rate, institutions or customs which are desirable and right will not, I imagine, find a very efficient guardian in one who does not know in what way they are good. I should rather guess that he will not be able to recognize fully that they are right and desirable.

No doubt.

So the order of our commonwealth will be perfectly regulated only when it is watched over by a Guardian who does possess this knowledge.

That follows. But, Socrates, what is your own account of the Good? Is it knowledge, or pleasure, or something else?

This, then, which gives to the objects of knowledge their truth and to him who knows them his power of knowing, is the Form or essential nature of Goodness. It is the cause of knowledge and truth; and so, while you may think of it as an object of knowledge, you will do well to regard it as something beyond truth and knowledge and, precious as these both are, of still higher worth. And, just as in our analogy light and vision were to be thought of as like the Sun, but not identical with it, so here both knowledge and truth are to be regarded as like the Good, but to identify either with the Good is wrong. The Good must hold a yet higher place of honor.

You are giving it a position of extraordinary splendor, if it is the

source of knowledge and truth and itself surpasses them in worth. You surely cannot mean that it is pleasure.

Heaven forbid, I exclaimed. But I want to follow up our analogy still further. You will agree that the Sun not only makes the things we see visible, but also brings them into existence and gives them growth and nourishment; yet he is not the same thing as existence. And so with the objects of knowledge: these derive from the Good not only their power of being known, but their very being and reality; and Goodness is not the same thing as being, but even beyond being, surpassing it in dignity and power.

Glaucon exclaimed with some amusement at my exalting Goodness in such extravagant terms.

It is your fault, I replied; you forced me to say what I think.

### *The Allegory of the Cave*

NEXT, SAID I, here is a parable to illustrate the degrees in which our nature may be enlightened or unenlightened. Imagine the condition of men living in a sort of cavernous chamber underground, with an entrance open to the light and a long passage all down the cave. Here they have been from childhood, chained by the leg and also by the neck, so that they cannot move and can see only what is in front of them, because the chains will not let them turn their heads. At some distance higher up is the light of a fire burning behind them; and between the prisoners and the fire is a track with a parapet built along it, like the screen at a puppet-show, which hides the performers while they show their puppets over the top.

I see, said he.

Now behind this parapet imagine persons carrying along various artificial objects, including figures of men and animals in wood or stone or other materials, which project above the parapet. Naturally, some of these persons will be talking, others silent.

It is a strange picture, he said, and a strange sort of prisoners.

Like ourselves, I replied; for in the first place prisoners so confined would have seen nothing of themselves or of one another, except the shadows thrown by the fire-light on the wall of the Cave facing them, would they?

Not if all their lives they had been prevented from moving their heads.

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And they would have seen as little of the objects carried past.

Of course.

Now, if they could talk to one another, would they not suppose that their words referred only to those passing shadows which they saw?

Necessarily.

And suppose their prison had an echo from the wall facing them? When one of the people crossing behind them spoke, they could only suppose that the sound came from the shadow passing before their eyes.

No doubt.

In every way, then, such prisoners would recognize as reality nothing but the shadows of those artificial objects.

Inevitably.

Now consider what would happen if their release from the chains and the healing of their un wisdom should come about in this way. Suppose one of them set free and forced suddenly to stand up, turn his head, and walk with eyes lifted to the light; all these movements would be painful, and he would be too dazzled to make out the objects whose shadows he had been used to see. What do you think he would say, if someone told him that what he had formerly seen was meaningless illusion, but now, being somewhat nearer to reality and turned towards more real objects, he was getting a truer view? Suppose further that he were shown the various objects being carried by and were made to say, in reply to questions, what each of them was. Would he not be perplexed and believe the objects now shown him to be not so real as what he formerly saw?

Yes, not nearly so real.

And if he were forced to look at the fire-light itself, would not his eyes ache, so that he would try to escape and turn back to the things which he could see distinctly, convinced that they really were clearer than these other objects now being shown to him?

Yes.

And suppose someone were to drag him away forcibly up the steep and rugged ascent and not let him go until he had hauled him out into the sunlight, would he not suffer pain and vexation at such treatment, and, when he had come out into the light, find his eyes so full of its radiance that he could not see a single one of the things that he was now told were real?

Certainly he would not see them all at once.

He would need, then, to grow accustomed before he could see things in that upper world. At first it would be easiest to make out shadows, and then the images of men and things reflected in water, and later on the things themselves. After that, it would be easier to watch the heavenly bodies and the sky itself by night, looking at the light of the moon and stars rather than the Sun and the Sun's light in the day-time.

Yes, surely.

Last of all, he would be able to look at the Sun and contemplate its nature, not as it appears when reflected in water or any alien medium, but as it is in itself in its own domain.

No doubt.

And now he would begin to draw the conclusion that it is the Sun that produces the seasons and the course of the year and controls everything in the visible world, and moreover is in a way the cause of all that he and his companions used to see.

Clearly he would come at last to that conclusion.

Then if he called to mind his fellow prisoners and what passed for wisdom in his former dwelling-place, he would surely think himself happy in the change and be sorry for them. They may have had a practice of honoring and commending one another, with prizes for the man who had the keenest eye for the passing shadows and the best memory for the order in which they followed or accompanied one another, so that he could make a good guess as to which was going to come next. Would our released prisoner be likely to covet those prizes or to envy the men exalted to honor and power in the Cave? Would he not feel like Homer's Achilles, that he would far sooner 'be on earth as a hired servant in the house of a landless man' or endure anything rather than go back to his old beliefs and live in the old way?

Yes, he would prefer any fate to such a life.

Now imagine what would happen if he went down again to take his former seat in the Cave. Coming suddenly out of the sunlight, his eyes would be filled with darkness. He might be required once more to deliver his opinion on those shadows, in competition with the prisoners who had never been released, while his eyesight was still dim and unsteady; and it might take some time to become used to the darkness. They would laugh at him and say that he had gone up only to come back with his sight ruined; it was worth no one's while even to attempt the ascent. If they could lay hands on the man who was

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trying to set them free and lead them up, they would kill him.

Yes, they would.

Every feature in this parable, my dear Glaucon, is meant to fit our earlier analysis. The prison dwelling corresponds to the region revealed to us through the sense of sight, and the fire-light within it to the power of the Sun. The ascent to see the things in the upper world you may take as standing for the upward journey of the soul into the region of the intelligible; then you will be in possession of what I surmise, since that is what you wish to be told. Heaven knows whether it is true; but this, at any rate, is how it appears to me. In the world of knowledge, the last thing to be perceived and only with great difficulty is the essential Form of Goodness. Once it is perceived, the conclusion must follow that, for all things, this is the cause of whatever is right and good; in the visible world it gives birth to light and to the lord of light, while it is itself sovereign in the intelligible world and the parent of intelligence and truth. Without having had a vision of this Form no one can act with wisdom, either in his own life or in matters of state.

So far as I can understand, I share your belief.

Then you may also agree that it is no wonder if those who have reached this height are reluctant to manage the affairs of men. Their souls long to spend all their time in that upper world—naturally enough, if here once more our parable holds true. Nor, again, is it at all strange that one who comes from the contemplation of divine things to the miseries of human life should appear awkward and ridiculous when, with eyes still dazed and not yet accustomed to the darkness, he is compelled, in a law-court or elsewhere, to dispute about the shadows of justice or the images that cast those shadows, and to wrangle over the notions of what is right in the minds of men who have never beheld Justice itself.

It is not at all strange.

No; a sensible man will remember that the eyes may be confused in two ways—by a change from light to darkness or from darkness to light; and he will recognize that the same thing happens to the soul. When he sees it troubled and unable to discern anything clearly, instead of laughing thoughtlessly, he will ask whether, coming from a brighter existence, its unaccustomed vision is obscured by the darkness, in which case he will think its condition enviable and its life a happy one; or whether, emerging from the depths of ignorance, it is



dazzled by excess of light. If so, he will rather feel sorry for it; or, if he were inclined to laugh, that would be less ridiculous than to laugh at the soul which has come down from the light.

That is a fair statement.

If this is true, then, we must conclude that education is not what it is said to be by some, who profess to put knowledge into a soul which does not possess it, as if they could put sight into blind eyes. On the contrary, our own account signifies that the soul of every man does possess the power of learning the truth and the organ to see it with; and that, just as one might have to turn the whole body round in order that the eye should see light instead of darkness, so the entire soul must be turned away from this changing world, until its eye can bear to contemplate reality and that supreme splendor which we have called the Good. Hence there may well be an art whose aim would be to effect this very thing, the conversion of the soul, in the readiest way; not to put the power of sight into the soul's eye, which already has it, but to insure that, instead of looking in the wrong direction, it is turned the way it ought to be.

Yes, it may well be so.

It looks, then, as though wisdom were different from those ordinary virtues, as they are called, which are not far removed from bodily qualities, in that they can be produced by habituation and exercise in a soul which has not possessed them from the first. Wisdom, it seems, is certainly the virtue of some diviner faculty, which never loses its power, though its use for good or harm depends on the direction towards which it is turned. You must have noticed in dishonest men with a reputation for sagacity the shrewd glance of a narrow intelligence piercing the objects to which it is directed. There is nothing wrong with their power of vision, but it has been forced into the service of evil, so that the keener its sight, the more harm it works.

Quite true.

And yet if the growth of a nature like this had been pruned from earliest childhood, cleared of those clinging overgrowths which come of gluttony and all luxurious pleasure and, like leaden weights charged with affinity to this mortal world, hang upon the soul, bending its vision downwards; if, freed from these, the soul were turned round towards true reality, then this same power in these very men would see the truth as keenly as the objects it is turned to now.

Yes, very likely.

Is it not also likely, or indeed certain after what has been said, that

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a state can never be properly governed either by the uneducated who know nothing of truth or by men who are allowed to spend all their days in the pursuit of culture? The ignorant have no single mark before their eyes at which they must aim in all the conduct of their own lives and of affairs of state; and the others will not engage in action if they can help it, dreaming that, while still alive, they have been translated to the Islands of the Blest.

Quite true.

It is for us, then, as founders of a commonwealth, to bring compulsion to bear on the noblest natures. They must be made to climb the ascent to the vision of Goodness, which we called the highest object of knowledge; and, when they have looked upon it long enough, they must not be allowed, as they now are, to remain on the heights, refusing to come down again to the prisoners or to take any part in their labors and rewards, however much or little these may be worth.

Shall we not be doing them an injustice, if we force on them a worse life than they might have?

You have forgotten again, my friend, that the law is not concerned to make any one class specially happy, but to insure the welfare of the commonwealth as a whole. By persuasion or constraint it will unite the citizens in harmony, making them share whatever benefits each class can contribute to the common good; and its purpose in forming men of that spirit was not that each should be left to go his own way, but that they should be instrumental in binding the community into one.

True, I had forgotten.

You will see, then, Glaucon, that there will be no real injustice in compelling our philosophers to watch over and care for the other citizens. We can fairly tell them that their compeers in other states may quite reasonably refuse to collaborate: there they have sprung up, like a self-sown plant, in despite of their country's institutions; no one has fostered their growth, and they cannot be expected to show gratitude for a care they have never received. 'But,' we shall say, "it is not so with you. We have brought you into existence for your country's sake as well as for your own, to be like leaders and king-bees in a hive; you have been better and more thoroughly educated than those others and hence you are more capable of playing your part both as men of thought and as men of action. You must go down, then, each in his turn, to live with the rest and let your eyes grow accustomed to the darkness. You will then see a thousand times better than those who live there always; you will recognize every image for what it is and

know what it represents, because you have seen justice, beauty, and goodness in their reality; and so you and we shall find life in our commonwealth no mere dream, as it is in most existing states, where men live fighting one another about shadows and quarreling for power, as if that were a great prize; whereas in truth government can be at its best and free from dissension only where the destined rulers are least desirous of holding office.'

Quite true.

Then will our pupils refuse to listen and to take their turns at sharing in the work of the community, though they may live together for most of their time in a purer air?

No; it is a fair demand, and they are fair-minded men. No doubt, unlike any ruler of the present day, they will think of holding power as an unavoidable necessity.

Yes, my friend; for the truth is that you can have a well-governed society only if you can discover for your future rulers a better way of life than being in office; then only will power be in the hands of men who are rich, not in gold, but in the wealth that brings happiness, a good and wise life. All goes wrong when, starved for lack of anything good in their own lives, men turn to public affairs hoping to snatch from thence the happiness they hunger for. They set about fighting for power, and this internecine conflict ruins them and their country. The life of true philosophy is the only one that looks down upon offices of state; and access to power must be confined to men who are not in love with it; otherwise rivals will start fighting. So whom else can you compel to undertake the guardianship of the commonwealth, if not those who, besides understanding best the principles of government, enjoy a nobler life than the politician's and look for rewards of a different kind?

There is indeed no other choice.

## *The Fall of the Ideal State*

### *Timocracy and the Timocratic Man*

VERY WELL, I CONTINUED. So far, then, Glaucon, we agree that in a state destined to reach the height of good government wives and children must be held in common; men and women must have the same education throughout and share all pursuits, warlike or peaceful;

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and those who have proved themselves the best both in philosophy and in war are to be kings among them. Further, the Rulers, as soon as they are appointed, will lead the soldiers and settle them in quarters such as we prescribed, common to all, with nothing private about them; and besides these dwellings we agreed, if you remember, how far they should have anything they could call their own.

Yes, I remember we thought they should have no property in the ordinary sense, but, as Guardians in training for war, they should receive as wages from the other citizens enough to keep them for the year while they fulfilled their duty of watching over the community, themselves included.

That is right. But when we had done with those matters, we went off into the digression which has brought us to this point. Let us go back now into our old path. Where did we leave it?

That is easy to remember. You were talking, very much as you are now, as if your description of the state were complete, and telling us that such a constitution and the corresponding type of man were what you would call good; although, as it now appears, you had it in your power to tell of a state and an individual of a still higher quality. But at any rate you said that, if this constitution were right, all others must be wrong, mentioning, if I remember, four varieties as worth considering with an eye to their defects. We were also to look at all the corresponding types of individual character, decide which was the best and which the worst, and then consider whether or not the best is also the happiest, the worst the most miserable. I was asking what these four constitutions were, when Polemarchus and Adeimantus interrupted us; and so you entered on the discussion which has brought us to this point.

Your memory is very accurate, I replied.

Let us be like wrestlers, then, who go back to the same grip after an indecisive fall. If I repeat my question, try to give me the answer you were going to make.

I will do my best.

Well, I am just as eager to hear what are the four types of government you meant.

There is no difficulty about that; they are the types which have names in common use. First there is the constitution of Crete and Sparta, which is so commonly admired; second and next in esteem, oligarchy, as it is called, a constitution fraught with many evils; next follows its antagonist, democracy; then despotism, which is thought

so glorious and goes beyond them all as the fourth and final disease of society. Can you mention any other type of government, I mean any that is obviously a distinct species? There are, of course, types like hereditary monarchy, and states where the highest offices can be bought; but these are rather intermediate forms, to be found quite as frequently outside Greece as within it.

True, one hears of many strange varieties.

Do you see, then, that there must be as many types of human character as there are forms of government? Constitutions cannot come out of stocks and stones; they must result from the preponderance of certain characters which draw the rest of the community in their wake. So if there are five forms of government, there must be five kinds of mental constitution among individuals.

Naturally.

Now we have already described the man whom we regard as in the full sense good and just and who corresponds to aristocracy, the government of the best. We have next to consider the inferior types: the competitive and ambitious temperament, answering to the Spartan constitution, and then the oligarchic, democratic, and despotic characters, in order that, by setting the extreme examples in contrast, we may finally answer the question how pure justice and pure injustice stand in respect of the happiness or misery they bring, and so decide to pursue the one or the other, according as we listen to Thrasymachus or to the argument we are now developing.

Yes, that is the next thing to be done.

When we were studying moral qualities earlier, we began with the state, because they stood out more clearly there than in the individual. On the same principle we had better now take, in each case, the constitution first, and then, in the light of our results, examine the corresponding character. We shall start with the constitution dominated by motives of ambition—it has no name in common use that I know of; let us call it timarchy or timocracy—and then go on to oligarchy and democracy, and lastly visit a state under despotic government and look into the despot's soul. We ought then to be in a position to decide the question before us.

Yes, such a systematic review should give us the materials for judgment.

Come then, let us try to explain how the government of the best might give place to a timocracy. Is it not a simple fact that in any form of government revolution always starts from the outbreak of internal

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dissension in the ruling class? The constitution cannot be upset so long as that class is of one mind, however small it may be.

That is true.

Then how, Glaucon, will trouble begin in our commonwealth? How will our Auxiliaries and Rulers come to be divided against each other or among themselves? Shall we, like Homer, invoke the Muses to tell us 'how first division came,' and imagine them amusing themselves at our expense by talking in high-flown language, as one teases a child with a pretense of being in earnest?

What have they to say?

Something of this sort. 'Hard as it may be for a state so framed to be shaken, yet, since all that comes into being must decay, even a fabric like this will not endure for ever, but will suffer dissolution. In this manner: not only for plants that grow in the earth, but also for all creatures that move thereon, there are seasons of fruitfulness and unfruitfulness for soul and body alike, which come whenever a certain cycle is completed, in a period short or long according to the length of life of each species. For your own race, the Rulers you have bred for your commonwealth, wise as they are, will not be able, by observation and reckoning, to hit upon the times propitious or otherwise for birth; some day the moment will slip by and they will beget children out of due season. For the divine creature there is a period embraced by a perfect number; while for the human there is a geometrical number determining the better or worse quality of the births. When your Guardians, from ignorance of this, bring together brides and bridegrooms out of season, their children will not be well-endowed or fortunate. The best of these may be appointed by the elder generation; but when they succeed to their fathers' authority as Guardians, being unworthy, they will begin to neglect us and to think too lightly first of the cultivation of the mind, and then of bodily training, so that your young men will come to be worse educated. Then Rulers appointed from among them will fail in their duty as Guardians to try the mettle of your citizens, those breeds of gold and silver, brass and iron that Hesiod told of; and when the silver is alloyed with iron and the gold with brass, diversity, inequality, and disharmony will beget, as they always must, enmity and war. Such, everywhere, is the birth and lineage of civil strife.'

Yes, we will take that as a true answer to our question.

How could it be otherwise, when it comes from the Muses?

And what will they go on to tell us?

Once civil strife is born, the two parties begin to pull different ways:

the breed of iron and brass towards money-making and the possession of house and land, silver and gold; while the other two, wanting no other wealth than the gold and silver in the composition of their souls, try to draw them towards virtue and the ancient ways. But the violence of their contention ends in a compromise: they agree to distribute land and houses for private ownership; they enslave their own people who formerly lived as free men under their guardianship and gave them maintenance; and, holding them as serfs and menials, devote themselves to war and to keeping these subjects under watch and ward.

I agree: that is how the transition begins.

And this form of government will be midway between the rule of the best and oligarchy, will it not?

Yes.

Such being the transition, how will the state be governed after the change? Obviously, as intermediate between the earlier constitution and oligarchy, it will resemble each of these in some respects and have some features of its own.

True.

It will be like the earlier constitution in several ways. Authority will be respected; the fighting class will abstain from any form of business, farming, or handicrafts; they will keep up their common meals and give their time to physical training and martial exercises.

Yes.

On the other hand, it will have some peculiar characteristics. It will be afraid to admit intellectuals to office. The men of that quality now at its disposal will no longer be single-minded and sincere; it will prefer simpler characters with plenty of spirit, better suited for war than for peace. War will be its constant occupation, and military tricks and stratagems will be greatly admired.

Yes.

At the same time, men of this kind will resemble the ruling class of an oligarchy in being avaricious, cherishing furtively a passionate regard for gold and silver; for they will now have private homes where they can hoard their treasure in secret and live ensconced in a nest of their own, lavishing their riches on their women or whom they please. They will also be miserly, prizing the money they may not openly acquire, though prodigal enough of other people's wealth for the satisfaction of their desires. They will enjoy their pleasures in secret, like

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truant children, in defiance of the law; because they have been educated not by gentle influence but under compulsion, cultivating the body in preference to the mind and caring nothing for the spirit of genuine culture which seeks truth by the discourse of reason.

The society you describe is certainly a mixture of good and evil.

Yes, it is a mixture; but, thanks to the predominance of the spirited part of our nature, it has one most conspicuous feature: ambition and the passion to excel.

Quite so.

Such, then, is the origin and character of this form of government. We have given only an outline, for no more finished picture is needed for the purpose of setting before our eyes the perfect types of just and unjust men. It would be an endless task to go through all the forms of government and of human character without omitting any detail.

True.

And now what of the corresponding individual? How does he come into being, and what is he like?

I imagine, said Adeimantus, his desire to excel, so far as that goes, would make him rather like Glaucon.

Perhaps, said I; but in other ways the likeness fails. He must be more self-willed than Glaucon and rather uncultivated, though fond of music; one who will listen readily, but is no speaker. Not having a properly educated man's consciousness of superiority to slaves, he will treat them harshly; though he will be civil to free men, and very obedient to those in authority. Ambitious for office, he will base his claims, not on any gifts of speech, but on his exploits in war and the soldierly qualities he has acquired through his devotion to athletics and hunting. In his youth he will despise money, but the older he grows the more he will care for it, because of the touch of avarice in his nature; and besides his character is not thoroughly sound, for lack of the only safeguard that can preserve it throughout life, a thoughtful and cultivated mind.

Quite true.

If that is the sort of young man whose character reflects a timocratic régime, his history will be something like this. He may be the son of an excellent father who, living in an ill-governed state, holds aloof from public life because he would sooner forgo some of his rights than take part in the scramble for office or be troubled with going to law. His son's character begins to take shape when he hears his mother complaining that she is slighted by the other women because her hus-



band has no official post. She sees too that he cares little for money, and is indifferent to all the scurrilous battle of words that goes on in the Assembly and the law-courts; and she finds him always absorbed in his thoughts, without much regard for her, or disregard either. Nursing all these grievances, she tells her son that his father is not much of a man and far too easygoing, and has all the other weaknesses that the wives of such men are fond of harping on.

Yes, we hear plenty of these feminine complaints.

Besides, as you know, servants who are esteemed loyal to the family sometimes talk privately to the sons in the same way. If they see the father taking no action against a swindler or a defaulting debtor, they urge the son, when he is grown up, to stand up for his rights and be more of a man than his father. When the boy goes out, he sees and hears the same sort of thing: one man is made light of as a fool for minding his own business, whereas another who has a finger in every pie is praised and respected. All this experience affects the young man, and on the other hand he listens to his father's conversation and can see at close quarters how his way of life compares with other people's; and so he is pulled both ways. His father tends the growth of reason in his soul, while the rest of the world is fostering the other two elements, ambition and appetite. By temperament he is not a bad man, but he has fallen into bad company, and the two contrary influences result in a compromise: he gives himself up to the control of the middle principle of high-spirited emulation and becomes an arrogant and ambitious man.

That is a good account of his history, I think.

So now we have an idea of the second form of government and the corresponding individual.

Yes.

### *Oligarchy and the Oligarchic Man*

**S**HALL WE GO ON THEN, as Aeschylus might say, to tell of 'another man, matched with another state,' or rather keep to our plan of taking the state first?

By all means.

Then I suppose the next type of constitution will be oligarchy.

What sort of régime do you mean?

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The one which is based on a property qualification, where the rich are in power and the poor man cannot hold office.

I see.

We must start, then, by describing the transition from timocracy to oligarchy. No one could fail to see how that happens. The downfall of timocracy is due to the flow of gold into those private stores we spoke of. In finding new ways of spending their money, men begin by stretching the law for that purpose, until they and their wives obey it no longer. Then, as each keeps an envious eye on his neighbor, their rivalry infects the great mass of them; and as they go to further lengths in the pursuit of riches, the more they value money and the less they care for virtue. Virtue and wealth are balanced against one another in the scales; as the rich rise in social esteem, the virtuous sink. These changes of valuation, moreover, are always reflected in practice. So at last the competitive spirit of ambition in these men gives way to the passion for gain; they despise the poor man and promote to power the rich, who wins all their praise and admiration. At this point they fix by statute the qualification for privilege in an oligarchy, an amount of wealth which varies with the strength of the oligarchical principle; no one may hold office whose property falls below the prescribed sum. This measure is carried through by armed force, unless they have already set up their constitution by terrorism. That, then, is how an oligarchy comes to be established.

Yes, said Adeimantus; but what is the character of this régime, and what are the defects we said it would have?

In the first place, I replied, the principle on which it limits privilege. How would it be, if the captain of a ship were appointed on a property qualification, and a poor man could never get a command, though he might know much more about seamanship?

The voyage would be likely to end in disaster.

Is not the same true of any position of authority? Or is the government of a state an exception?

Anything but an exception, inasmuch as a state is the hardest thing to govern and the most important.

So this is one serious fault of oligarchy.

Evidently.

Is it any less serious that such a state must lose its unity and become two, one of the poor, the other of the rich, living together and always plotting against each other?

Quite as serious.

Another thing to its discredit is that they may well be unable to carry on a war. Either they must call out the common people or not. If they do, they will have more to fear from the armed multitude than from the enemy; and if they do not, in the day of battle these oligarchs will find themselves only too literally a government of the few. Also, their avarice will make them unwilling to pay war taxes.

True.

And again, is it right that the same persons should combine many occupations, agriculture, business, and soldiering? We condemned that practice some time ago.

No, not at all right.

Worst of all, a man is allowed to sell all he has to another and then to go on living in a community where he plays no part as tradesman or artisan or as a soldier capable of providing his own equipment; he is only what they call a pauper. This is an evil which first becomes possible under an oligarchy, or at least there is nothing to prevent it; otherwise there would not be some men excessively wealthy and others destitute.

True.

Now think of this pauper in his earlier days when he was well off. By spending his money, was he doing any more good to the community in those useful ways I mentioned? He seemed to belong to the ruling class, but really he was neither ruling the state nor serving it; he was a mere consumer of goods. His house might be compared to one of those cells in the honeycomb where a drone is bred to be the plague of the hive. Some drones can fly, and these were all created without stings; others, which cannot fly, are of two sorts: some have formidable stings, the rest have none. In society, the stingless drones end as beggars in their old age; the ones which have stings become what is known as the criminal class. It follows that, in any community where beggars are to be seen, there are also thieves and pickpockets and temple-robbers and other such artists in crime concealed somewhere about the place. And you will certainly see beggars in any state governed by an oligarchy.

Yes, nearly everywhere, outside the ruling class.

Then we may assume that there are also plenty of drones with stings, criminals whom the government takes care to hold down by force; and we shall conclude that they are bred by lack of education, bad upbringing, and a vicious form of government.

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Yes.

Such, then, is the character of a state ruled by an oligarchy. It has all these evils and perhaps more.

Very likely.

We have finished, then, with the constitution known as oligarchy, where power is held on a property qualification, and we may turn now to the history and character of the corresponding individual.

Yes, let us do so.

The transition from the timocratic type to the oligarchical happens somewhat in this way. The timocratical man has a son, who at first emulates his father and follows in his steps. Then suddenly he sees him come up against society, like a ship striking a sunken rock, and founder with all his possessions; he may have held some high office or command and then have been brought to trial by informers and put to death or banished or outlawed with the loss of all his property.

All this might well happen.

The son is terror-stricken at the sight of this ruin, in which his own fortunes are involved. At once that spirit of eager ambition which hitherto ruled in his heart is thrust headlong from the throne. Humbled by poverty, he turns to earning his living and, little by little, through hard work and petty savings, scrapes together a fortune. And now he will install another spirit on the vacant throne, the money-loving spirit of sensual appetite, like an eastern monarch with diadem and golden chain and scimitar girt at his side. At its footstool, on either hand, will crouch the two slaves he has forced into subjection: Reason, whose thought is now confined to calculating how money may breed more money, and Ambition, suffered to admire and value nothing but wealth and its possessors and to excel in nothing but the struggle to gain money by any and every means.

There is no swifter and surer way by which an ambitious young man may be transformed into a lover of money.

Is this, then, our oligarchical type?

Well, at any rate, the type from which he has developed corresponded to the constitution from which oligarchy arose.

Let us see, then, whether he will not have the same sort of character. The first point of resemblance is that he values wealth above everything. Another is that he is niggardly and a worker who satisfies only his necessary wants and will go to no further expense; his other desires he keeps in subjection as leading nowhere. There is something squalid about him, with his way of always expecting to make a profit

and add to his hoard—the sort of person who is much admired by the vulgar. Surely there is a likeness here to the state under an oligarchy?

I think there is, especially in the way that money is valued above everything.

Because, I suspect, he has never thought of cultivating his mind.

Never; or he would not have promoted the blind god of Wealth to lead the dance.

Good; and here is another point. As a consequence of his lack of education, appetites will spring up in him, comparable to those of the drones in society whom we classified as either beggars or criminals, though his habitual carefulness will keep them in check. If you want to see his criminal tendencies at work, you must look to any occasions, such as the guardianship of orphans, where he has a chance to be dishonest without risk. It will then be clear that in his other business relations, where his apparent honesty gives him a good reputation, he is only exercising a sort of enforced moderation. The base desires are there, not tamed by a reasonable conviction that it is wrong to gratify them, but only held down under stress of fear, which makes him tremble for the safety of his whole fortune. Moreover, you may generally be sure of discovering these drone-like appetites whenever men of this sort have other people's money to spend.

That is very true.

Such a man, then, will not be single-minded but torn in two by internal conflict, though his better desires will usually keep the upper hand over the worse. Hence he presents a more decent appearance than many; but the genuine virtue of a soul in peace and harmony with itself will be utterly beyond his reach.

I agree.

Further, his stinginess weakens him as a competitor for any personal success or honorable distinction. He is unwilling to spend his money in a struggle for that sort of renown, being afraid to stir up his expensive desires by calling upon them to second his ambition. So, like a true oligarch, fighting with only a small part of his forces, he is usually beaten and remains a rich man.

Quite so.

Have we any further doubts, then, about the likeness between a state under an oligarchy and this parsimonious money-getter?

None at all.

## *Democracy*

**D**EMOCRACY, I SUPPOSE, should come next. A study of its rise and character should help us to recognize the democratic type of man and set him beside the others for judgment.

Certainly that course would fit in with our plan.

If the aim of life in an oligarchy is to become as rich as possible, that insatiable craving would bring about the transition to democracy. In this way: since the power of the ruling class is due to its wealth, they will not want to have laws restraining prodigal young men from ruining themselves by extravagance. They will hope to lend these spendthrifts money on their property and buy it up, so as to become richer and more influential than ever. We can see at once that a society cannot hold wealth in honor and at the same time establish a proper self-control in its citizens. One or the other must be sacrificed.

Yes, that is fairly obvious.

In an oligarchy, then, this neglect to curb riotous living sometimes reduces to poverty men of a not ungenerous nature. They settle down in idleness, some of them burdened with debt, some disfranchised, some both at once; and these drones are armed and can sting. Hating the men who have acquired their property and conspiring against them and the rest of society, they long for a revolution. Meanwhile the usurers, intent upon their own business, seem unaware of their existence; they are too busy planting their own stings into any fresh victim who offers them an opening to inject the poison of their money; and while they multiply their capital by usury, they are also multiplying the drones and the paupers. When the danger threatens to break out, they will do nothing to quench the flames, either in the way we mentioned, by forbidding a man to do what he likes with his own, or by the next best remedy, which would be a law enforcing a respect for right conduct. If it were enacted that, in general, voluntary contracts for a loan should be made at the lender's risk, there would be less of this shameless pursuit of wealth and a scantier crop of those evils I have just described.

Quite true.

But, as things are, this is the plight to which the Rulers of an oligarchy, for all these reasons, reduce their subjects. As for themselves, luxurious indolence of body and mind makes their young men too lazy and effeminate to resist pleasure or to endure pain; and the fathers,

neglecting everything but money, have no higher ideals in life than the poor. Such being the condition of Rulers and subjects, what will happen when they are thrown together, perhaps as fellow-travelers by sea or land to some festival or on a campaign, and can observe one another's demeanor in a moment of danger? The rich will have no chance to feel superior to the poor. On the contrary, the poor man, lean and sunburnt, may find himself posted in battle beside one who, thanks to his wealth and indoor life, is panting under his burden of fat and showing every mark of distress. 'Such men,' he will think, 'are rich because we are cowards'; and when he and his friends meet in private, the word will go round: 'These men are no good: they are at our mercy.'

Yes, that is sure to happen.

This state, then, is in the same precarious condition as a person so unhealthy that the least shock from outside will upset the balance or, even without that, internal disorder will break out. It falls sick and is at war with itself on the slightest occasion, as soon as one party or the other calls in allies from a neighboring oligarchy or democracy; and sometimes civil war begins with no help from without.

Quite true.

And when the poor win, the result is a democracy. They kill some of the opposite party, banish others, and grant the rest an equal share in civil rights and government, officials being usually appointed by lot.

Yes, that is how a democracy comes to be established, whether by force of arms or because the other party is terrorized into giving way.

Now what is the character of this new régime? Obviously the way they govern themselves will throw light on the democratic type of man.

No doubt.

First of all, they are free. Liberty and free speech are rife everywhere; anyone is allowed to do what he likes.

Yes, so we are told.

That being so, every man will arrange his own manner of life to suit his pleasure. The result will be a greater variety of individuals than under any other constitution. So it may be the finest of all, with its variegated pattern of all sorts of characters. Many people may think it the best, just as women and children might admire a mixture of colors of every shade in the pattern of a dress. At any rate if we

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are in search of a constitution, here is a good place to look for one. A democracy is so free that it contains a sample of every kind; and perhaps anyone who intends to found a state, as we have been doing, ought first to visit this emporium of constitutions and choose the model he likes best.

He will find plenty to choose from.

Here, too, you are not obliged to be in authority, however competent you may be, or to submit to authority, if you do not like it; you need not fight when your fellow-citizens are at war, nor remain at peace when they do, unless you want peace; and though you may have no legal right to hold office or sit on juries, you will do so all the same if the fancy takes you. A wonderfully pleasant life, surely, for the moment.

For the moment, no doubt.

There is a charm, too, in the forgiving spirit shown by some who have been sentenced by the courts. In a democracy you must have seen how men condemned to death or exile stay on and go about in public, and no one takes any more notice than he would of a spirit that walked invisible. There is so much tolerance and superiority to petty considerations; such a contempt for all those fine principles we laid down in founding our commonwealth, as when we said that only a very exceptional nature could turn out a good man, if he had not played as a child among things of beauty and given himself only to creditable pursuits. A democracy tramples all such notions under foot; with a magnificent indifference to the sort of life a man has led before he enters politics, it will promote to honor anyone who merely calls himself the people's friend.

Magnificent indeed.

These then, and such as these, are the features of a democracy, an agreeable form of anarchy with plenty of variety and an equality of a peculiar kind for equals and unequals alike.

All that is notoriously true.

Now consider the corresponding individual character. Or shall we take his origin first, as we did in the case of the constitution?

Yes.

I imagine him as the son of our miserly oligarch, brought up under his father's eye and in his father's ways. So he too will enforce a firm control over all such pleasures as lead to expense rather than profit—



unnecessary pleasures, as they have been called. But, before going farther, shall we draw the distinction between necessary and unnecessary appetites, so as not to argue in the dark?

Please do so.

There are appetites which cannot be got rid of, and there are all those which it does us good to fulfill. Our nature cannot help seeking to satisfy both these kinds; so they may fairly be described as necessary. On the other hand, 'unnecessary' would be the right name for all appetites which can be got rid of by early training and which do us no good and in some cases do harm. Let us take an example of each kind, so as to form a general idea of them. The desire to eat enough plain food—just bread and meat—to keep in health and good condition may be called necessary. In the case of bread the necessity is twofold, since it not only does us good but is indispensable to life; whereas meat is only necessary in so far as it helps to keep us in good condition. Beyond these simple needs the desire for a whole variety of luxuries is unnecessary. Most people can get rid of it by early discipline and education; and it is as prejudicial to intelligence and self-control as it is to bodily health. Further, these unnecessary appetites might be called expensive, whereas the necessary ones are rather profitable, as helping a man to do his work. The same distinctions could be drawn in the case of sexual appetite and all the rest.

Yes.

Now, when we were speaking just now of drones, we meant the sort of man who is under the sway of a host of unnecessary pleasures and appetites, in contrast with our miserly oligarch, over whom the necessary desires are in control. Accordingly, we can now go back to describe how the democratic type develops from the oligarchical. I imagine it usually happens in this way. When a young man, bred, as we were saying, in a stingy and uncultivated home, has once tasted the honey of the drones and keeps company with those dangerous and cunning creatures, who know how to purvey pleasures in all their multitudinous variety, then the oligarchical constitution of his soul begins to turn into a democracy. The corresponding revolution was effected in the state by one of the two factions calling in the help of partisans from outside. In the same way one of the conflicting sets of desires in the soul of this youth will be reinforced from without by a group of kindred passions; and if the resistance of the oligarchical faction in him is strengthened by remonstrances and reproaches coming from his father, perhaps, or his friends, the opposing parties will

## THE REPUBLIC

soon be battling within him. In some cases the democratic interest yields to the oligarchical: a sense of shame gains a footing in the young man's soul, and some appetites are crushed, others banished, until order is restored.

Yes, that happens sometimes.

But then again, perhaps, owing to the father's having no idea how to bring up his son, another brood of desires, akin to those which were banished, are secretly nursed up until they become numerous and strong. These draw the young man back into clandestine commerce with his old associates, and between them they breed a whole multitude. In the end, they seize the citadel of the young man's soul, finding it unguarded by the trusty sentinels which keep watch over the minds of men favored by heaven. Knowledge, right principles, true thoughts, are not at their post; and the place lies open to the assault of false and presumptuous notions. So he turns again to those lotus-eaters and now throws in his lot with them openly. If his family send reinforcements to the support of his thrifty instincts, the impostors who have seized the royal fortress shut the gates upon them, and will not even come to parley with the fatherly counsels of individual friends. In the internal conflict they gain the day; modesty and self-control, dishonored and insulted as the weaknesses of an unmanly fool, are thrust out into exile; and the whole crew of unprofitable desires take a hand in banishing moderation and frugality, which, as they will have it, are nothing but churlish meanness. So they take possession of the soul which they have swept clean, as if purified for initiation into higher mysteries; and nothing remains but to marshal the great procession bringing home Insolence, Anarchy, Waste, and Impudence, those resplendent divinities crowned with garlands, whose praises they sing under flattering names: Insolence they call good breeding, Anarchy freedom, Waste magnificence, and Impudence a manly spirit. Is not that a fair account of the revolution which gives free rein to unnecessary and harmful pleasures in a young man brought up in the satisfaction only of the necessary desires?

Yes, it is a vivid description.

In his life thenceforward he spends as much time and pains and money on his superfluous pleasures as on the necessary ones. If he is lucky enough not to be carried beyond all bounds, the tumult may begin to subside as he grows older. Then perhaps he may recall some of the banished virtues and cease to give himself up entirely to the passions which ousted them; and now he will set all his pleasures on

a footing of equality, denying to none its equal rights and maintenance, and allowing each in turn, as it presents itself, to succeed, as if by the chance of the lot, to the government of his soul until it is satisfied. When he is told that some pleasures should be sought and valued as arising from desires of a higher order, others chastised and enslaved because the desires are base, he will shut the gates of the citadel against the messengers of truth, shaking his head and declaring that one appetite is as good as another and all must have their equal rights. So he spends his days indulging the pleasure of the moment, now intoxicated with wine and music, and then taking to a spare diet and drinking nothing but water; one day in hard training, the next doing nothing at all, the third apparently immersed in study. Every now and then he takes a part in politics, leaping to his feet to say or do whatever comes into his head. Or he will set out to rival someone he admires, a soldier it may be, or, if the fancy takes him, a man of business. His life is subject to no order or restraint, and he has no wish to change an existence which he calls pleasant, free, and happy.

That well describes the life of one whose motto is liberty and equality.

Yes, and his character contains the same fine variety of pattern that we found in the democratic state; it is as multifarious as that epitome of all types of constitution. Many a man, and many a woman too, will find in it something to envy. So we may see in him the counterpart of democracy, and call him the democratic man.

We may.

### *Despotism and the Despotic Man*

NOW THERE REMAINS only the most admired of all constitutions and characters—despotism and the despot. How does despotism arise? That it comes out of democracy is fairly clear. Does the change take place in the same sort of way as the change from oligarchy to democracy? Oligarchy was established by men with a certain aim in life: the good they sought was wealth, and it was the insatiable appetite for money-making to the neglect of everything else that proved its undoing. Is democracy likewise ruined by greed for what it conceives to be the supreme good?

What good do you mean?

Liberty. In a democratic country you will be told that liberty is its

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noblest possession, which makes it the only fit place for a free spirit to live in.

True; that is often said.

Well then, as I was saying, perhaps the insatiable desire for this good to the neglect of everything else may transform a democracy and lead to a demand for despotism. A democratic state may fall under the influence of unprincipled leaders, ready to minister to its thirst for liberty with too deep draughts of this heady wine; and then, if its rulers are not complaisant enough to give it unstinted freedom, they will be arraigned as accursed oligarchs and punished. Law-abiding citizens will be insulted as nonentities who hug their chains; and all praise and honor will be bestowed, both publicly and in private, on rulers who behave like subjects and subjects who behave like rulers. In such a state the spirit of liberty is bound to go to all lengths.

Inevitably.

It will make its way into the home, until at last the very animals catch the infection of anarchy. The parent falls into the habit of behaving like the child, and the child like the parent: the father is afraid of his sons, and they show no fear or respect for their parents, in order to assert their freedom. Citizens, resident aliens, and strangers from abroad are all on an equal footing. To descend to smaller matters, the schoolmaster timidly flatters his pupils, and the pupils make light of their masters as well as of their attendants. Generally speaking, the young copy their elders, argue with them, and will not do as they are told; while the old, anxious not to be thought disagreeable tyrants, imitate the young and condescend to enter into their jokes and amusements. The full measure of popular liberty is reached when the slaves of both sexes are quite as free as the owners who paid for them; and I had almost forgotten to mention the spirit of freedom and equality in the mutual relations of men and women.

Well, to quote Aeschylus, we may as well speak 'the word that rises to our lips.'

Certainly; so I will. No one who had not seen it would believe how much more freedom the domestic animals enjoy in a democracy than elsewhere. The very dogs behave as if the proverb 'like mistress, like maid' applied to them; and the horses and donkeys catch the habit of walking down the street with all the dignity of freemen, running into anyone they meet who does not get out of their way. The whole place is simply bursting with the spirit of liberty.

No need to tell me that. I have often suffered from it on my way out of the town.

Putting all these items together, you can see the result: the citizens become so sensitive that they resent the slightest application of control as intolerable tyranny, and in their resolve to have no master they end by disregarding even the law, written or unwritten.

Yes, I know that only too well.

Such then, I should say, is the seed, so full of fair promise from which springs despotism.

Promising indeed. But what is the next stage?

The same disease that destroyed oligarchy breaks out again here, with all the more force because of the prevailing license, and enslaves democracy. The truth is that, in the constitution of society, quite as much as in the weather or in plants and animals, any excess brings about an equally violent reaction. So the only outcome of too much freedom is likely to be excessive subjection, in the state or in the individual; which means that the culmination of liberty in democracy is precisely what prepares the way for the cruellest extreme of servitude under a despot. But I think you were asking rather about the nature of that disease which afflicts democracy in common with oligarchy and reduces it to slavery.

Yes, I was.

What I had in mind was that set of idle spendthrifts, among whom the bolder spirits take the lead. We compared these leaders, if you remember, to drones armed with stings, the stingless drones being their less enterprising followers. In any society where these two groups appear they create disorder, as phlegm and bile do in the body. Hence the law-giver, as a good physician of the body politic, should take measures in advance, no less than the prudent bee-keeper who tries to forestall the appearance of drones, or, failing that, cuts them out, cells and all, as quickly as he can.

Quite true.

Then, to gain a clearer view of our problem, let us suppose the democratic commonwealth to be divided into three parts, as in fact it is. One consists of the drones we have just described. Bred by the spirit of license, in a democracy this class is no less numerous and much more energetic than in an oligarchy, where it is despised and kept out of office and so remains weak for lack of exercise. But in a democracy it furnishes all the leaders, with a few exceptions; its keenest members make the speeches and transact the business, while

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the other drones settle on the benches round, humming applause to drown any opposition. Thus nearly the whole management of the commonwealth is in its hands.

Quite true.

Meanwhile, a second group is constantly emerging from the mass. Where everyone is bent upon making money, the steadiest characters tend to amass the greatest wealth. Here is a very convenient source from which the drones can draw an abundance of honey.

No doubt; they cannot squeeze any out of men of small means.

'The rich,' I believe, is what they call this class which provides provender for the drones.

Yes.

The third class will be 'the people,' comprising all the peasantry who work their own farms, with few possessions and no interest in politics. In a democracy this is the largest class and, when once assembled, its power is supreme.

Yes, but it will not often meet, unless it gets some share of the honey.

Well, it always does get its share, when the leaders are distributing to the people what they have taken from the well-to-do, always provided they can keep the lion's share for themselves. The plundered rich are driven to defend themselves in debate before the Assembly and by any measures they can compass; and then, even if they have no revolutionary designs, the other party accuse them of plotting against the people and of being reactionary oligarchs. At last, when they see the people unwittingly misled by such denunciation into attempts to treat them unjustly, then, whether they wish it or not, they become reactionaries in good earnest. There is no help for it; the poison is injected by the sting of those drones we spoke of. Then follow impeachments and trials, in which each party arraigns the other.

Quite so.

And the people always put forward a single champion of their interests, whom they nurse to greatness. Here, plainly enough, is the root from which despotism invariably springs.

Yes.

How does the transformation of the people's champion into a despot begin? You have heard the legend they tell of the shrine of Lycæan Zeus in Arcadia: how one who tastes a single piece of human flesh mixed in with the flesh of the sacrificial victims is fated to be

changed into a wolf. In the same way the people's champion, finding himself in full control of the mob, may not scruple to shed a brother's blood; dragging him before a tribunal with the usual unjust charges, he may foully murder him, blotting out a man's life and tasting kindred blood with unhallowed tongue and lips; he may send men to death or exile with hinted promises of debts to be canceled and estates to be redistributed. Is it not thenceforth his inevitable fate either to be destroyed by his enemies or to seize absolute power and be transformed from a human being into a wolf?

It is.

Here, then, we have the party leader in the civil war against property. If he is banished, and then returns from exile in despite of his enemies, he will come back a finished despot. If they cannot procure his banishment or death by denouncing him to the state, they will conspire to assassinate him. Then comes the notorious device of all who have reached this stage in the despot's career, the request for a bodyguard to keep the people's champion safe for them. The request is granted, because the people, in their alarm on his account, have no fear for themselves.

Quite true.

This is a terrifying sight for the man of property, who is charged with being not merely rich but the people's enemy. He will follow the oracle's advice to Croesus,

To flee by Hermus' pebbly shore,  
Dreading the coward's shame no more.

Well, he would have little chance to dread it a second time.

True; if he is caught, no doubt he will be done to death; whereas our champion himself does not, like Hector's charioteer, 'measure his towering length in dust,' but on the contrary, overthrows a host of rivals and stands erect in the chariot of the state, no longer protector of the people, but its absolute master.

Yes, it must come to that.       :

And now shall we describe the happy condition of the man and of the country which harbors a creature of this stamp?

By all means.

In the early days he has a smile and a greeting for everyone he meets; disclaims any absolute power; makes large promises to his friends and to the public; sets about the relief of debtors and the dis-

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tribution of land to the people and to his supporters; and assumes a mild and gracious air towards everybody. But as soon as he has dis-embarrassed himself of his exiled enemies by coming to terms with some and destroying others, he begins stirring up one war after another, in order that the people may feel their need of a leader, and also be so impoverished by taxation that they will be forced to think of nothing but winning their daily bread, instead of plotting against him. Moreover, if he suspects some of cherishing thoughts of freedom and not submitting to his rule, he will find a pretext for putting them at the enemy's mercy and so making away with them. For all these reasons a despot must be constantly provoking wars.

He must.

This course will lead to his being hated by his countrymen more and more. Also, the bolder spirits among those who have helped him to power and now hold positions of influence will begin to speak their mind to him and among themselves and to criticize his policy. If the despot is to maintain his rule, he must gradually make away with all these malcontents, until he has not a friend or an enemy left who is of any account. He will need to keep a sharp eye open for anyone who is courageous or high-minded or intelligent or rich; it is his happy fate to be at war with all such, whether he likes it or not, and to lay his plans against them until he has purged the commonwealth.

A fine sort of purgation!

Yes, the exact opposite of the medical procedure, which removes the worst elements in the bodily condition and leaves the best.

There seems to be no choice, if he is to hold his power.

No; he is confined to the happy alternatives of living with people most of whom are good for nothing and who hate him into the bargain, or not living at all. And the greater the loathing these actions inspire in his countrymen, the more he will need trustworthy recruits to strengthen his bodyguard. Where will he turn to find men on whom he can rely?

They will come flocking of their own accord, if he offers enough pay.

Foreigners of all sorts, you mean—yet another swarm of drones. But why not draw upon the home supply? He could rob the citizens of their slaves, emancipate them, and enroll them in his bodyguard.

No doubt they would be the most faithful adherents he could find.

What an enviable condition for the despot, to put his trust in such friends as these, when he has made away with his earlier supporters!



He will, of course, be the admiration of all this band of new-made citizens, whose company he will enjoy when every decent person shuns him with loathing. It is not for nothing that the tragic drama is thought to be a storehouse of wisdom, and above all Euripides, whose profundity of thought appears in the remark that 'despots grow wise by converse with the wise,' meaning no doubt by the wise these associates we have described.

Yes, and Euripides praises absolute power as godlike, with much more to the same effect. So do the other poets.

That being so, the tragedians will give a further proof of their wisdom if they will excuse us and all states whose constitution resembles ours, when we deny them admittance on the ground that they sing the praises of despotism. At the same time, I expect they will go the round of other states, where they will hire actors with fine sonorous voices to sway the inclination of the assembled crowd towards a despotic or a democratic constitution. Naturally they are honored and well paid for these services, by despots chiefly, and in a less degree by democracies. But the higher they mount up the scale of commonwealths, the more their reputation flags, like a climber who gives in for lack of breath. However, we are wandering from our subject. Let us go back to the despot's army. How is he to maintain this fine, ever-shifting array of nondescripts?

No doubt he will spend any treasure there may be in the temples, so long as it will last, as well as the property of his victims, thus lightening the war-taxes imposed on the people.

And when that source fails?

Clearly he will support himself, with his boon-companions, minions, and mistresses, from his parents' estate.

I understand: the despot and his comrades will be maintained by the common people which gave him birth.

Inevitably.

But how if the people resent this and say it is not right for the father to support his grown-up son—it ought to be the other way about; they did not bring him into being and set him up in order that, when he had grown great, they should be the slaves of their own slaves and support them together with their master and the rest of his rabble; he was to be the champion to set them free from the rich and the so-called upper class. Suppose they now order him and his partisans to leave the country, as a father might drive his son out of the house along with his riotous friends?

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Then, to be sure, the people will learn what sort of creature it has bred and nursed to greatness in its bosom, until now the child is too strong for the parent to drive out.

Do you mean that the despot will dare to lay violent hands on this father of his and beat him if he resists?

Yes, when once he has disarmed him.

So the despot is a parricide, with no pity for the weakness of age. Here, it seems, is absolutism openly avowed. The people, as they say, have escaped the smoke only to fall into the fire, exchanging service to free men for the tyranny of slaves. That freedom which knew no bounds must now put on the livery of the most harsh and bitter servitude, where the slave has become the master.

Yes, that is what happens.

May we say, then, that we have now sufficiently described the transition from democracy to despotism, and what despotism is like when once established?

Yes, quite sufficiently.

Last comes the man of despotic character. It remains to ask how he develops from the democratic type, what he is like, and whether his life is one of happiness or of misery.

Yes.

Here I feel the need to define, more fully than we have so far done, the number and nature of the appetites. Otherwise it will not be so easy to see our way to a conclusion.

Well, it is not too late.

Quite so. Now, about the appetites, here is the point I want to make plain. Among the unnecessary pleasures and desires, some, I should say, are unlawful. Probably they are innate in everyone; but when they are disciplined by law and by the higher desires with the aid of reason, they can in some people be got rid of entirely, or at least left few and feeble, although in others they will be comparatively strong and numerous.

What kind of desires do you mean?

Those which bestir themselves in dreams, when the gentler part of the soul slumbers and the control of reason is withdrawn; then the wild beast in us, full-fed with meat or drink, becomes rampant and shakes off sleep to go in quest of what will gratify its own instincts. As you know, it will cast away all shame and prudence at such moments and stick at nothing. In phantasy it will not shrink from intercourse

with a mother or anyone else, man, god, or brute, or from forbidden food or any deed of blood. In a word, it will go to any length of shamelessness and folly.

Quite true.

It is otherwise with a man sound in body and mind, who, before he goes to sleep, awakens the reason within him to feed on high thoughts and questionings in collected meditation. If he has neither starved nor surfeited his appetites, so that, lulled to rest, no delights or griefs of theirs may trouble that better part, but leave it to reach out, in pure and independent thought, after some new knowledge of things past, present, or to come; if, likewise, he has soothed his passions so as not to fall asleep with his anger roused against any man; if, in fact, he does not take his rest until he has quieted two of the three elements in his soul and awakened the third wherein wisdom dwells, then he is in a fair way to grasp the truth of things, and the visions of his dreams will not be unlawful. However, we have been carried away from our point, which is that in every one of us, even those who seem most respectable, there exist desires, terrible in their untamed lawlessness, which reveal themselves in dreams. Do you agree?

I do.

Remember, then, our account of the democratic man, how his character was shaped by his early training under a parsimonious father, who respected only the businesslike desires, dismissing the unnecessary ones as concerned with frivolous embellishments. Then, associating with more sophisticated people who were a prey to those lawless appetites we have just described, he fell into their ways, and hatred of his father's miserliness drove him into every sort of extravagance. But, having a better disposition than his corrupters, he came to a compromise between the two conflicting ways of life, making the best of both with what he called moderation and avoiding alike the meanness of the one and the license of the other. So the oligarchical man was transformed into the democratic type.

Yes, I hold by that description.

Now imagine him grown old in his turn, with a young son bred in his ways, who is exposed to the same influences, drawn towards the utter lawlessness which his seducers call perfect freedom, while on the other side his father and friends lend their support to the compromise. When those terrible wizards who would conjure up an absolute ruler in the young man's soul begin to doubt the power of their spells, in the last resort they contrive to engender in him a master passion, to

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champion the mob of idle appetites which are for dividing among themselves all available plunder—a passion that can only be compared to a great winged drone. Like a swarm buzzing round this creature, the other desires come laden with incense and perfumes, garlands and wine, feeding its growth to the full on the pleasures of a dissolute life, until they have implanted the sting of a longing that cannot be satisfied. Then at last this passion, as leader of the soul, takes madness for the captain of its guard and breaks out in frenzy; if it can lay hold upon any thoughts or desires that are of good report and still capable of shame, it kills them or drives them forth, until it has purged the soul of all sobriety and called in the partisans of madness to fill the vacant place.

That is a complete picture of how the despotic character develops.

Is not this the reason why lust has long since been called a tyrant? A drunken man, too, has something of this tyrannical spirit; and so has the lunatic who dreams that he can lord it over all mankind and heaven besides. Thus, when nature or habit or both have combined the traits of drunkenness, lust, and lunacy, then you have the perfect specimen of the despotic man.

Quite true.

Such, then, being his origin and character, what will his life be like? I give it up. You must tell me.

I will. When a master passion is enthroned in absolute dominion over every part of the soul, feasting and reveling with courtesans and all such delights will become the order of the day. And every day and night a formidable crop of fresh appetites springs up, whose numerous demands quickly consume whatever income there may be. Soon he will be borrowing and making inroads on his capital; and when all resources fail, the lusty brood of appetites will crowd about him clamoring. Goaded on to frenzy by them and above all by that ruling passion to which they serve as a sort of bodyguard, he will look out for any man of property whom he can rob by fraud or violence. Money he must have, no matter how, if he is not to suffer torments.

All that is inevitable.

Now, just as a succession of new pleasures asserted themselves in his soul at the expense of the older ones, so this young man will claim the right to live at his parents' expense and help himself to their property when his own portion is spent. If they resist, he will first try to cheat them; and failing that, he will rob them by force. If the old

people still hold out, will any scruple restrain him from behaving like a despot?

I should not have much hope for the parents of such a son.

And yet consider, Adeimantus: his father and mother have been bound to him by the closest ties all his life; and now that they are old and faded, would he really be ready to beat them for the sake of the charms of some new-found mistress or favorite who has no sort of claim on him? Is he going to bring these creatures under the same roof and let them lord it over his parents?

I believe he would.

It is no very enviable lot, then, to give birth to a despotic son.

It is not.

And now suppose that his parents' resources begin to fail, while his appetites for new pleasures have mustered into a great swarm in his soul; he will begin by breaking into someone's house or robbing a traveler by night, and go on to sweep some temple clean of its treasures. Meanwhile, the old approved beliefs about right and wrong which he had as a child will be overpowered by thoughts, once held in subjection, but now emancipated to second that master passion whose bodyguard they form. In his democratic days, when he was still under the control of his father and of the laws, they broke loose only in sleep; but now that this passion has set up an absolute dominion, he has become for all his waking life the man he used to be from time to time in his dreams, ready to shed blood or eat forbidden food or do any dreadful deed. The desire that lives in him as sole ruler in a waste of lawless disrule will drive him, as a tyrant would drive his country, into any desperate venture which promises to maintain it with its horde of followers, some of whom evil communication has brought in from without, while others have been released from bondage by the same evil practices within. Is that a fair account of his manner of life?

Yes.

If there are a few such characters in a country where most men are law-abiding, they will go elsewhere to join some despot's bodyguard or serve as mercenaries in any war that is toward. In quiet times of peace, they stay at home and commit crimes on a small scale, as thieves, burglars, pickpockets, temple-robbers, kidnapers; or, if they have a ready tongue, they may take to selling their services as informers and false witnesses.

Such crimes will be a small matter, you mean, so long as the criminals are few in number.

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Small is a relative term; and all of them put together do not, as they say, come within sight of the degradation and misery of society under a despot. When the number of such criminals and their hangers-on increases and they become aware of their strength, then it is they who, helped by the folly of the common people, create the despot out of that one among their number whose soul is itself under the most tyrannical despotism.

Yes, such a state of mind would naturally be his best qualification.

All goes smoothly if men are ready to submit. But the country may resist; and then, just as he began by calling his father and mother to order, so now he will discipline his once loved fatherland, or motherland as the Cretans call it, and see that it shall live in subjection to the new-found partisans he has called in to enslave it. So this man's desires come to their fulfilment.

Yes, that is true.

In private life, before they gain power, men of this stamp either consort with none but parasites ready to do them any service, or, if they have a favor to beg, they will not hesitate themselves to cringe and posture in simulated friendliness, which soon cools off when their end is gained. So, throughout life, the despotic character has not a friend in the world; he is sometimes master, sometimes slave, but never knows true friendship or freedom. There is no faithfulness in him; and, if we were right in our notion of justice, he is the perfect example of the unjust man.

Certainly.

### *The Just and Unjust Lives Compared*

TO SUM UP, THEN: this worst type of man is he who behaves in waking life as we said men do in their dreams. The born despot who gains absolute power must come to this, and the longer he lives as a tyrant, the more this character grows upon him.

Inevitably, said Glaucon, who now took his turn to answer.

Now shall we find that the lowest depth of wickedness goes with the lowest depth of unhappiness, and that the misery of the despot is really in proportion to the extent and duration of his power, though the mass of mankind may hold many different opinions?

Yes, that much is certain.

It is true, is it not? that each type of individual—the despotic, the

democratic, and so on—resembles the state with the corresponding type of constitution, and will be good and happy in a corresponding degree.

Yes, of course.

In point of excellence, then, how does a state under a despotism compare with the one governed by kings, such as we first described?

They are at opposite extremes: the best and the worst.

I shall not ask which is which, for that is obvious. Is your estimate the same with respect to their degrees of happiness or misery? We must not let our eyes be dazzled by fixing them only on the despot himself and some few of his supporters; we should not decide until we have looked into every corner and inspected the life of the whole community.

That is a fair demand. Everyone must see that a state is most wretched under a despot and happiest under a true king.

And in judging between the corresponding individuals, is it not equally fair to demand the verdict of one who is not dazzled, like a child, by the outward pomp and parade of absolute power, but whose understanding can enter into a man's heart and see all that goes on within? Should we not all do well to listen to such a competent judge, if he had also lived under the same roof and witnessed the despot's behavior, not only in the emergencies of public life, but towards intimates in his own household, where he can best be seen stripped of his theatrical garb? We might then ask for a report on the happiness or misery of the despot as compared with the rest of the world.

Yes, that would be perfectly fair.

Shall we, then, make believe that we ourselves are qualified to judge from having been in contact with despots, so that we may have someone to answer our questions?

By all means.

Bearing in mind, then, the analogy between state and individual, you shall tell me what you think of the condition of each in turn. To begin with the state: is it free under a despot, or enslaved?

Utterly enslaved.

And yet you see it contains some who are masters and free men.

Yes, a few; but almost the whole of it, including the most respectable part, is degraded to a miserable slavery.

If the individual, then, is analogous to the state, we shall find the same order of things in him: a soul laboring under the meanest servitude, the best elements in it being enslaved, while a small part, which

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is also the most frenzied and corrupt, plays the master. Would you call such a condition of the soul freedom or slavery?

Slavery, of course.

And just as a state enslaved to a tyrant cannot do what it really wishes, so neither can a soul under a similar tyranny do what it wishes as a whole. Goaded on against its will by the sting of desire, it will be filled with confusion and remorse. Like the corresponding state, it must always be poverty-stricken, unsatisfied, and haunted by fear. Nowhere else will there be so much lamentation, groaning, and anguish as in a country under a despotism, and in a soul maddened by the tyranny of passion and lust.

It cannot be otherwise.

These, I think, were the considerations that made you judge such a state to be the most unhappy of all.

Was I not right?

Certainly. But, in view of the same facts, what would you say of the despotic type of individual?

That he is by far the most miserable of men.

There I think you are wrong. You will perhaps agree that there is a still lower depth of misery, to be found in a man of this temperament who has not the good fortune to remain in a private station but is thrust by circumstance into the position of an actual despot.

Judging by what we have said already, I should think that must be true.

Yes; but this is the most important of all questions, the choice between a good and an evil life; and we must be content with nothing short of a reasoned conviction. Am I right in thinking that some light may be gained from considering those wealthy private individuals who own a large number of slaves? In that respect they are like the despot, though his subjects are still more numerous. Now, as you know, they do not live in terror of their servants.

No; what have they to fear?

Nothing. But do you see why?

Yes; it is because the individual is protected by the whole community.

True; but imagine a man owning fifty or more slaves, miraculously caught up with his wife and children and planted, along with all his household goods and servants, in some desert place where there were no freemen to come to his rescue. Would he not be horribly afraid that his servants would make away with him and his family? He would be



driven to fawn upon some of the slaves with liberal promises and give them their freedom, much against his will. So he would become a parasite, dependent on his own henchmen.

That would be his only way to escape destruction.

Moreover, the place he was transported to might be surrounded by neighbors who would not tolerate the claims of one man to lord it over others, but would retaliate fiercely on anyone they caught in such an attempt.

In that case he would be in still more desperate straits, hemmed in on all sides by enemies.

Is not that a picture of the prison to which the despot is confined? His nature is such as we have described, infested with all manner of fears and lusts. However curious he may be, he alone can never travel abroad to attend the great festivals which every freeman wants to witness, but must live like a woman ensconced in the recesses of his house, envying his countrymen who can leave their homes to see what is worth seeing in foreign lands. You spoke just now of the despotic character, ill-governed in his own soul, as the most miserable of men; but these disadvantages I have mentioned add to his wretchedness when he is driven by ill-luck out of his private station to become an actual despot and undertake to rule others when he is not his own master. You might as well force a paralytic to leave the sheltered life of an invalid and spend his days in fighting or in trials of physical strength.

Quite true, Socrates; that is a fair comparison.

So the despot's condition, my dear Glaucon, is supremely wretched, even harder than the life you pronounced the hardest of all. Whatever people may think, the actual tyrant is really the most abject slave, a parasite of the vilest scoundrels. Never able to satisfy his desires, he is always in need, and, to an eye that sees a soul in its entirety, he will seem the poorest of the poor. His condition is like that of the country he governs, haunted throughout life by terrors and convulsed with anguish. Add to this what we said before, that power is bound to exaggerate every fault and make him ever more envious, treacherous, unjust, friendless, impure, harboring every vice in his bosom, and hence only less of a calamity to all about him than he is to himself.

No man of sense will dispute that.

Then the time has come for you, as the final judge in this competition, to decide who stands first in point of happiness and to arrange

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in order all our five types of character, the kingly, the timocratic, the oligarchic, the democratic, the despotic.

The decision is easy. In respect both of goodness and of happiness I range them in the order in which they have entered the lists.

Shall we hire a herald, then, or shall I myself proclaim that, in the judgment of the son of Ariston, the happiest man is he who is first in goodness and justice, namely the true king who is also king over himself; and the most miserable is that lowest example of injustice and vice, the born despot whose tyranny prevails in his own soul and also over his country.

Yes, you may proclaim that.

May I add that it would make no difference if the true character of both should remain unknown to heaven and to mankind?

You may.

Very well, said I; that may stand as one of our proofs. But I want to consider a second one, which can, I think, be based on our division of the soul into three parts, corresponding to the three orders in the state. Each part seems to me to have its own form of pleasure and its peculiar desire; and any one of the three may govern the soul.

How do you mean?

There was the part with which a man gains knowledge and understanding, and another whereby he shows spirit. The third was so multifarious that we could find no single appropriate name; we called it after its chief and most powerful characteristic 'appetite,' because of the intensity of all the appetites connected with eating and drinking and sex and so on. We also called it money-loving, because money is the principal means of satisfying desires of this kind. Gain is the source of its pleasures and the object of its affection; so 'money-loving' or 'gain-loving' might be the best single expression to sum up the nature of this part of the soul for the purpose of our discussion.

I agree.

The spirited element, again, we think of as wholly bent upon winning power and victory and a good name. So we might call it honor-loving or ambitious.

Very suitably.

Whereas the part whereby we gain knowledge and understanding is least of all concerned with wealth or reputation. Obviously its sole endeavor is to know the truth, and we may speak of it as loving knowledge and philosophic.

Quite so.

And the human soul is sometimes governed by this principle, sometimes by one of the other two, as the case may be. Hence we recognize three main classes of men, the philosophic, the ambitious, and the lovers of gain. So there will also be three corresponding forms of pleasure.

Certainly.

Now, if you choose to ask men of these three types which of their lives is the pleasantest, each in turn will praise his own above the rest. The man of business will say that, as compared with profit-making, the pleasures of winning a high reputation or of learning are worthless, except in so far as they bring in money. The ambitious man will despise the pleasure derived from money as vulgar, and the pleasure of learning, if it does not bring fame, as moonshine. The philosopher, again, will think that the satisfaction of knowing the truth and always gaining fresh understanding is beyond all comparison with those other pleasures, which he will call 'necessary' in the fullest sense; for he would have no use for them, if they were not unavoidable. In this dispute about the pleasures of each class and as to which of the three lives as a whole is not merely better and nobler but actually pleasanter or less painful, how is one to know whose judgment is the truest?

I am not prepared to say.

Well, think of it in this way. What is required for a sound judgment? Can it rest on any better foundation than experience, or insight, or reasoning?

Surely not.

Take experience, then. Which of our three men has the fullest acquaintance with all the pleasures we have mentioned? Has the lover of gain such an understanding of the truth as to know by experience the pleasure of knowledge better than the philosopher knows the pleasure of gain?

No, all the advantage lies with the philosopher, who cannot help experiencing both the other kinds of pleasure from childhood up; whereas the lover of gain is under no necessity to taste the sweetness of understanding the truth of things; rather he would not find it easy to gain that experience, however hard he should try.

In experience of both sorts of pleasure, then, the philosopher has the advantage over the lover of gain. How does he compare with the ambitious man? Is he less well acquainted with the pleasures of honor than the other is with the pleasures of wisdom?

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No, honor comes to them all, if they accomplish their several purposes; the rich man is esteemed by many people, and so are the brave man and the wise. So the pleasure of being honored is familiar to them all; but only the philosopher can know how sweet it is to contemplate the truth.

Then, so far as experience goes, he is the best judge of the three.

Yes, by far.

And the only one in whom experience is seconded by insight.

Yes.

Further, we agreed that the decision must be reached by means of reasoning; and this is peculiarly the tool of the philosopher, not of the money-lover or of the ambitious man.

No doubt.

Now, if wealth and profit were the most satisfactory criteria, the judgments of value passed by the lover of gain would be nearest to the truth; and if honor, courage, and success were the test, the best judge would be the man who lives for honor and victory; but since the tests are experience, insight, and reasoning—?

The truest values must be those approved by the philosopher, who uses reason for the pursuit of wisdom.

Of the three kinds of pleasure, then, the sweetest will belong to that part of the soul whereby we gain understanding and knowledge, and the man in whom that part predominates will have the pleasantest life.

It must be so; in praising his own life the wise man speaks with authority.

What life or form of pleasure will this judge rank second?

Obviously, that of the warlike and ambitious temperament. It comes nearer than the businessman's to his own.

And the pleasure of gain will come last, it seems.

Surely.

So now the just man has scored a second victory over the unjust. There remains the third round, for which the wrestlers at the Great Games invoke Olympian Zeus, the Preserver; and a fall in this bout should be decisive. I seem to have heard some wise man say that only the pleasures of intelligence are entirely true and pure; all the others are illusory.

That should settle the matter. But what does it mean?

I shall discover the meaning, if you will help me by answering my

questions. We speak of pain as the contrary of pleasure. Is there not also a neutral state between the two, in which the mind feels neither pleasure nor pain, but is as it were at rest from both?

Yes.

Well, you must have heard people say, when they are ill, that nothing is pleasanter than to be well, though they never knew it until they were ill; and people in great pain will tell you that relief from pain is the greatest pleasure in the world. There are many such cases in which you find the sufferer saying that the height of pleasure is not positive enjoyment, but the peace which comes with the absence of pain.

Yes; I suppose at such moments the state of rest becomes pleasurable and all that can be desired.

In the same way, then, when enjoyment comes to an end, the cessation of pleasure will be painful.

I suppose so.

If so, that state of rest which, we said, lies between pleasure and pain, will be sometimes one, sometimes the other. But if it is neither of the two, how can it become both?

I do not think it can.

And besides, both pleasure and pain are processes of change which take place in the mind, are they not? whereas the neutral condition appeared to be a state of rest between the two. So can it be right to regard the absence of pain as pleasant or the absence of enjoyment as painful?

No, it cannot.

It follows, then, that the state of rest is not really either pleasant or painful, but only appears so in these cases by contrast. There is no soundness in these appearances; by the standard of true pleasure they are a sort of imposture.

That seems to be the conclusion.

You might be tempted, in these instances, to suppose that pleasure is the same thing as relief from pain, and pain the same as the cessation of pleasure; but, as an instance to the contrary, consider pleasures which do not follow on pain. There are plenty of them; the best example is the pleasures of smell. These occur suddenly with extraordinary intensity; they are not preceded by any pain and they leave no pain behind when they cease.

Quite true.

We are not to be persuaded, then, that relief from pain is the same thing as pure pleasure, or cessation of pleasure the same as pure pain.

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No.

On the other hand, the class of pleasures which do involve some sort of relief from pain may be said to include the great majority and the most intense of all the pleasures, so called, which reach the mind by way of the body; and the same description applies to the pleasures or pains of anticipation which precede them.

Yes.

Here is an analogy, to illustrate their nature. You think of the world as divided into an upper region and a lower, with a center between them. Now if a person were transported from below to the center, he would be sure to think he was moving 'upwards'; and when he was stationed at the center and looking in the direction he had come from, he would imagine he was in the upper region, if he had never seen the part which is really above the center. And supposing he were transported back again, he would think he was traveling 'downwards,' and this time he would be right. His mistake would be due to his ignorance of the real distinctions between the upper and lower regions and the center.

Clearly.

You will not be surprised, then, if people whose ignorance of truth and reality gives them many unsound ideas, are similarly confused about pleasure and pain and the intermediate state. When the movement is towards a painful condition, they are right in believing that the pain is real; but when they are passing from a state of pain to the neutral point, they are firmly convinced that they are approaching the pleasure of complete satisfaction. In their ignorance of true pleasure, they are deceived by the contrast between pain and the absence of pain, just as one who had never seen white might be deceived by the contrast between black and grey.

Certainly; I should be much more surprised if it were not so.

Then look at it in this way. As hunger and thirst are states of bodily inanition, which can be replenished by food, so ignorance and un-wisdom in the soul are an emptiness to be filled by gaining understanding. Of the two sorts of nourishment, will not the more real yield the truer satisfaction?

Clearly.

Which kind of nourishment, then, has the higher claim to pure reality—food-stuffs like bread and meat and drink, or such things as true belief, knowledge, reason, and in a word all the excellences of the mind? You may decide by asking yourself whether something

which is closely connected with the unchanging and immortal world of truth and itself shares that nature together with the thing in which it exists, has more or less reality than something which, like the thing which contains it, belongs to a world of mortality and perpetual change.

No doubt it is much more real.

And a higher or lower degree of reality goes with a greater or less measure of knowledge and so of truth?

Necessarily.

And is there not, to speak generally, less of truth and reality in the things which serve the needs of the body than in those which feed the soul?

Much less.

And, again, less in the body itself than in the soul?

Certainly.

And in proportion as the sustenance and the thing sustained by it are more real, the satisfaction itself is a more real satisfaction.

Of course.

Accordingly, if the appropriate satisfaction of natural needs constitutes pleasure, there will be more real enjoyment of true pleasure in such a case; whereas in the opposite case the satisfaction is not so genuine or secure and the pleasure is less true and trustworthy.

Inevitably.

To conclude, then: those who have no experience of wisdom and virtue and spend their whole time in feasting and self-indulgence are all their lives, as it were, fluctuating downwards from the central point and back to it again, but never rise beyond it into the true upper region, to which they have not lifted their eyes. Never really satisfied with real nourishment, the pleasure they taste is uncertain and impure. Bent over their tables, they feed like cattle with stooping heads and eyes fixed upon the ground; so they grow fat and breed, and in their greedy struggle kick and butt one another to death with horns and hoofs of steel, because they can never satisfy with unreal nourishment that part of themselves which is itself unreal and incapable of lasting satisfaction.

Your description of the way most people live is quite in the oracular style, Socrates.

Does it not follow that the pleasures of such a life are illusory phantoms of real pleasure, in which pleasure and pain are so combined that each takes its color and apparent intensity by contrast

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with the other? Hence the frenzied desire they implant in the breasts of fools, who fight for them as Stesichorus says the combatants at Troy fought, in their blindness, for a phantom Helen.

Yes, that is bound to be so.

Take, again, the satisfaction of the spirited element in our nature. Must not that be no less illusory, when a man seeks, at all costs, to gratify his ambition by envy, his love of victory by violence, and his ill-temper by outbursts of passion, without sense of reason?

It must.

What then? May we boldly assert that all the desires both of the gain-loving and of the ambitious part of our nature will win the truest pleasures of which they are capable, if they accept the guidance of knowledge and reason and pursue only those pleasures which wisdom approves? Such pleasures will be true, because truth is their guide, and will also be proper to their nature, if it is a fact that a thing always finds in what is best for it something akin to its real self.

Well, that is certainly a fact.

To conclude, then, each part of the soul will not only do its own work and be just when the whole soul, with no inward conflict, follows the guidance of the wisdom-loving part, but it also will enjoy the pleasures that are proper to it and the best and truest of which it is capable; whereas if either of the other two parts gains the upper hand, besides failing to find its own proper pleasure, it will force the others to pursue a false pleasure uncongenial to their nature.

Yes.

Now would not these evil effects be most of all produced by the elements farthest removed from philosophy and reason, that is to say, from subordination to law? Such, we have seen, are the lustful and despotic appetites; whereas the orderly and kingly desires stand nearest to the controlling reason. Accordingly, the despot is at the farthest remove from the true pleasure proper to man's nature, and his life is the least pleasant, in contrast with the king's, who stands at the opposite extreme. Have you any notion how much less pleasant it is?

No, tell me.

There are, it seems, three kinds of pleasure, one genuine and two spurious. The despot, in his flight from law and reason, goes beyond the bounds even of the spurious kinds, to surround himself with pleasures comparable to a bodyguard of slaves. The measure of his inferiority can hardly be expressed, unless perhaps in this way. The despot, you remember, was at the third remove from the oligarch; for



the democratic man came between. If that was right, the pleasure he enjoys will be a phantom three times less real than the oligarch's. And the oligarch himself was third in rank below the king, if we identify kingship with the rule of the best. So the number representing the distance that separates this phantom pleasure of the despot from reality will be three times three; and when that number is squared and cubed, calculation will show how great the interval becomes. Conversely, you will find that, in respect of truth and reality, the kingly life is seven hundred and twenty-nine times the pleasanter, and the despot's more painful by the same amount.

I feel quite overwhelmed by your estimate of the difference between the just and unjust man, on the score of pleasure and pain.

All the same, my figure is correct and applicable to the lives of men as surely as the reckoning of days and nights, months, and years. And if the good and just man is so far superior to the bad and unjust in point of pleasure, there is no saying by how much more his life will surpass the other's in grace, nobility, and virtue.

I entirely agree.

### *Justice Is Profitable*

GOOD, SAID I. And now that the argument has brought us to this point, let us recall something that was said at the outset, namely, if I remember aright, that wrongdoing is profitable when a man is completely unjust but has a reputation for justice.

Yes, that position was stated.

Well, we are now agreed about the real meaning and consequences of doing wrong as well as of doing right, and the time has come to point out to anyone who maintains that position what his statement implies. We may do so by likening the soul to one of those many fabulous monsters said to have existed long ago, such as the Chimæra or Scylla or Cerberus, which combined the forms of several creatures in one. Imagine, to begin with, the figure of a multifarious and many-headed beast, girt round with heads of animals, tame and wild, which it can grow out of itself and transform at will.

That would tax the skill of a sculptor; but luckily the stuff of imagination is easier to mold than wax.

Now add two other forms, a lion and a man. The many-headed beast is to be the largest by far, and the lion next to it in size. Then join them in such a way that the three somehow grow together into

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one. Lastly, mold the outside into the likeness of one of them, the man, so that, to eyes which cannot see inside the outward sheath, the whole may look like a single creature, a human being.

Very well. What then?

We can now reply to anyone who says that for this human creature wrongdoing pays and there is nothing to be gained by doing right. This simply means, we shall tell him, that it pays to feed up and strengthen the composite beast and all that belongs to the lion, and to starve the man till he is so enfeebled that the other two can drag him whither they will, and he cannot bring them to live together in peace, but must leave them to bite and struggle and devour one another. On the other hand, to declare that justice pays is to assert that all our words and actions should tend towards giving the man within us complete mastery over the whole human creature, and letting him take the many-headed beast under his care and tame its wildness, like the gardener who trains his cherished plants while he checks the growth of weeds. He should enlist the lion as his ally, and, caring for all alike, should foster their growth by first reconciling them to one another and to himself.

Yes, such are the implications when justice or injustice is commended.

From every point of view, then, whether of pleasure or reputation or advantage, one who praises justice speaks the truth; he who disparages it does not know what it is that he idly condemns.

I agree; he has no conception.

But his error is not willful; so let us reason with him gently. We will ask him on what grounds conduct has come to be approved or disapproved by law and custom. Is it not according as conduct tends to subdue the brutish parts of our nature to the human—perhaps I should rather say to the divine in us—or to enslave our humanity to the savagery of the beast? Will he agree?

Yes, if he has any regard for my opinion.

On that showing, then, can it profit a man to take money unjustly, if he is thereby enslaving the best part of his nature to the vilest? No amount of money could make it worth his while to sell a son or daughter as slaves into the hands of cruel and evil men; and when it is a matter of ruthlessly subjugating all that is most godlike in himself to whatsoever is most ungodly and despicable, is not the wretch taking a bribe far more disastrous than the necklace Eriphyle took as the price of her husband's life?

Far more, said Glaucon, if I may answer on his behalf.

You will agree, too, with the reasons why certain faults have always been condemned: profligacy, because it gives too much license to the multiform monster; self-will and ill-temper, when the lion and serpent part of us is strengthened till its sinews are overstrung; luxury and effeminacy, because they relax those sinews till the heart grows faint; flattery and meanness, in that the heart's high spirit is subordinated to the turbulent beast, and for the sake of money to gratify the creature's insatiable greed the lion is browbeaten and schooled from youth up to become an ape. Why, again, is mechanical toil discredited as debasing? Is it not simply when the highest thing in a man's nature is naturally so weak that it cannot control the animal parts but can only learn how to pamper them?

I suppose so.

Then, if we say that people of this sort ought to be subject to the highest type of man, we intend that the subject should be governed, not, as Thrasymachus thought, to his own detriment, but on the same principle as his superior, who is himself governed by the divine element within him. It is better for everyone, we believe, to be subject to a power of godlike wisdom residing within himself, or, failing that, imposed from without, in order that all of us, being under one guidance, may be so far as possible equal and united. This, moreover, is plainly the intention of the law in lending its support to every member of the community, and also of the government of children; for we allow them to go free only when we have established in each one of them as it were a constitutional ruler, whom we have trained to take over the guardianship from the same principle in ourselves.

True.

On what ground, then, can we say that it is profitable for a man to be unjust or self-indulgent or to do any disgraceful act which will make him a worse man, though he may gain money and power? Or how can it profit the wrongdoer to escape detection and punishment? He will only grow still worse; whereas if he is found out, chastisement will tame the brute in him and lay it to rest, while the gentler part is set free; and thus the entire soul, restored to its native soundness, will gain, in the temperance and righteousness which wisdom brings, a condition more precious than the strength and beauty which health brings to the body, in proportion as the soul itself surpasses the body in worth. To this end the man of understanding will bend all his powers through life, prizing in the first place those studies only which will fashion these qualities in his soul; and, so far from abandoning

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the care of his bodily condition to the irrational pleasures of the brute and setting his face in that direction, he will not even make health his chief object. Health, strength, and beauty he will value only in so far as they bring soundness of mind, and you will find him keeping his bodily frame in tune always for the sake of the resulting concord in the soul.

Yes, if he is to have true music in him.

And in the matter of acquiring wealth he will order his life in harmony with the same purpose. He will not be carried away by the vulgar notion of happiness into heaping up an unbounded store which would bring him endless troubles. Rather, in adding to or spending his substance, he will, to the best of his power, be guided by watchful care that neither want nor abundance may unsettle the constitution set up in his soul. Again, in accepting power and honors he will keep the same end in view, ready to enjoy any position in public or private life which he thinks will make him a better man, and avoiding any that would break down the established order within him.

Then, if that is his chief concern, he will have no wish to take part in politics.

Indeed he will, in the politics of his own commonwealth, though not perhaps in those of his country, unless some miraculous chance should come about.

I understand, said Glaucon: you mean this commonwealth we have been founding in the realm of discourse; for I think it nowhere exists on earth.

No, I replied; but perhaps there is a pattern set up in the heavens for one who desires to see it and, seeing it, to found one in himself. But whether it exists anywhere or ever will exist is no matter; for this is the only commonwealth in whose politics he can ever take part.

I suspect you are right.

And so, Glaucon, the tale was saved from perishing; and if we will listen, it may save us, and all will be well when we cross the river of Lethe. Also we shall not defile our souls; but, if you will believe with me that the soul is immortal and able to endure all good and ill, we shall keep always to the upward way and in all things pursue justice with the help of wisdom. Then we shall be at peace with Heaven and with ourselves, both during our sojourn here and when, like victors in the Games collecting gifts from their friends, we receive the prize of justice; and so, not here only, but in the journey of a thousand years of which I have told you, we shall fare well.



*Emile Zola's*

DENUNCIATION  
OF THE  
CONSPIRACY  
AGAINST DREYFUS





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## HOME COURSE APPRECIATION

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**I**N 1894, CAPTAIN ALFRED DREYFUS, a member of the French General Staff, was tried on a charge of treason. The Captain protested his innocence. The evidence against him was slim, but a traitor had to be named. The French Army was permeated with anti-Semitism and Dreyfus was a Jew. So he was found guilty of communicating secret information to a foreign government, publicly disgraced, and sentenced to life imprisonment on dread Devil's Island.

Two years later a colonel in the Intelligence Section uncovered evidence that would exonerate Captain Dreyfus. It pointed straight at a Major Esterhazy as the traitor. By this time some of the most illustrious men in France knew that Dreyfus was innocent. But they persuaded themselves that the prestige of the Army was at stake, and that the honor of the country was more important than the honor of one man. So with truth itself against them they resorted to intimidation; in the name of patriotism they sank to perjury. Major Esterhazy was tried and acquitted, the indiscreet colonel was transferred to a dangerous post in Africa, and Dreyfus was left to rot.

But Dreyfus' brother, pursuing an independent investigation, had made the same discovery as the colonel and pressed vigorously for a new trial. Him the conspiracy could not silence.

So began the "Dreyfus affair"—a cataclysm that shattered the honor of the French Army, sent a wave of anti-Semitism surging over the country, broke families apart and, turning friend against friend, rocked France for ten long years.

Emile Zola, one of the most renowned novelists of his century, had followed the events from their start. He was almost sixty, and glad to be finished with a series of novels which had run to twenty volumes. But as a dedicated enemy of injustice he could not rest. Three times he had written articles on the Dreyfus case. Then, appalled by the Army's cynical "whitewash" of Esterhazy, he addressed an open letter to the President of France.

It was a flaming letter. With a passion so intense as to shock it



denounced the General Staff, the War Office, the handwriting experts and the courts-martial, and demanded that France return to truth.

Zola took the letter to Georges Clemenceau, the editor of a new and struggling liberal newspaper, who published it under the headline *J'accuse!* (I accuse!). Zola was promptly prosecuted for libel—an action he had foreseen and voluntarily exposed himself to.

In his own defense, before a prejudiced and hostile jury, the aged novelist delivered this eloquent plea for justice and the rights of man. The Army exerted all its power, however, and he was found guilty, fined, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. But he had accomplished his purpose. In the bright light of a public trial the Dreyfus case was reopened, and the innocent officer vindicated. Zola appealed his sentence and succeeded in obtaining a second trial, but he did not return from asylum in England until a general amnesty was granted to all connected with the Dreyfus affair.

When he died in 1902 Zola was mourned as a national hero. Thirty thousand people attended his funeral. Captain Dreyfus was among those who heard Anatole France speak the final words beside the grave: "Envy him! Envy him his destiny and his heart. . . . He was a moment of the conscience of man!"



Zola and Clemenceau in court


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IN THE CHAMBER at the sitting of January 22, M. Méline, the Prime Minister, declared, amid the frantic applause of his complaisant majority, that he had confidence in the twelve citizens to whose hands he intrusted the defense of the army. It was of you, gentlemen, that he spoke. And just as General Billot dictated its decision to the court-martial intrusted with the acquittal of Major Esterhazy, by appealing from the tribune for respect for the *chose jugée*, so likewise M. Méline wished to give you the order to condemn me "out of respect for the army," which he accuses me of having insulted!

I denounce to the conscience of honest men this pressure brought to bear by the constituted authorities upon the justice of the country. These are abominable political practices, which dishonor a free nation. We shall see, gentlemen, whether you will obey.

But it is not true that I am here in your presence by the will of M. Méline. He yielded to the necessity of prosecuting me only in great trouble, in terror of the new step which the advancing truth was about to take. This everybody knew. If I am before you, it is because I wished it. I alone decided that this obscure, this abominable affair, should be brought before your jurisdiction, and it is I alone of my free will who chose you, you, the loftiest, the most direct emanation of French justice, in order that France, at last, may know all, and give her decision. My act had no other object, and my person is of no account. I have sacrificed it in order to place in your hands, not only the honor of the army, but the imperiled honor of the nation.

It appears that I was cherishing a dream in wishing to offer you all the proofs, considering you to be the sole worthy, the sole competent judge. They have begun by depriving you with the left hand of what they seemed to give you with the right. They pretended, indeed, to accept your jurisdiction, but if they had confidence in you to avenge the members of the court-martial, there were still other officers who remained superior even to your jurisdiction. Let who can understand. It is absurdity doubled with hypocrisy, and it shows clearly that they dreaded your good sense—that they dared not run the risk of letting us tell all and of letting you judge the whole matter. They pretend that they wished to limit the scandal. What do you think of this scandal—of my act, which consisted in bringing the matter before you—in wishing the people, incarnate in you, to be the judge? They pretend also that they could not accept a revision in disguise, thus confessing that in reality they have but one fear, that of your sovereign control. The law has in you its complete representation, and it is this chosen law of the people that I have wished for—this law which, as a good citizen, I hold in profound respect, and not the suspicious procedure by which they hoped to make you a laughingstock.

I am thus excused, gentlemen, for having brought you here from your private affairs without being able to inundate you with the full flood of light of which I dreamed. The light, the whole light—this was my sole, my passionate desire! And this trial has just proved it. We have had to fight step by step against an extraordinarily obstinate desire for darkness. A battle has been necessary to obtain every atom of truth. Everything has been refused us. Our witnesses have been terrorized in the hope of preventing us from proving our case. And it is on your behalf alone that we have fought, that this proof might be put before you in its entirety, so that you might give your opinion on your consciences without remorse. I am certain, therefore, that you will give us credit for our efforts, and I feel sure too that sufficient light has been thrown upon the affair.

You have heard the witnesses; you are about to hear my counsel, who will tell you the true story, the story that maddens everybody and that everybody knows. I am, therefore, at my ease. You have the truth at last, and it will do its work. M. Méline thought to dictate your decision by entrusting to you the honor of the army. And it is in the name of the honor of the army that I too appeal to your justice.

I give M. Méline the most direct contradiction. Never have I insulted the army. I spoke, on the contrary, of my sympathy, my respect

## DENUNCIATION OF THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST DREYFUS

for the nation in arms, for our dear soldiers of France, who would rise at the first menace to defend the soil of France. And it is just as false that I attacked the chiefs, the generals who would lead them to victory. If certain persons at the War Office have compromised the army itself by their acts, is it to insult the whole army to say so? Is it not rather to act as a good citizen to separate it from all that compromises it, to give the alarm, so that the blunders that alone have been the cause of our defeat shall not occur again and shall not lead us to fresh disaster?

I am not defending myself, moreover. I leave history to judge my act, which was a necessary one; but I affirm that the army is dishonored when gendarmes are allowed to embrace Major Esterhazy after the abominable letters written by him. I affirm that that valiant army is insulted daily by the bandits who, on the plea of defending it, sully it by their degrading championship—who trail in the mud all that France still honors as good and great. I affirm that those who dishonor that great national army are those who mingle cries of “Vive l’armée!” with those of “À bas les juifs!” and “Vive Esterhazy!” Grand Dieu! the people of St. Louis, of Bayard, of Condé, and of Hoche, the people which counts a hundred great victories, the people of the great wars of the Republic and the Empire, the people whose power, grace, and generosity have dazzled the world, crying “Vive Esterhazy!” It is a shame, the stain of which our efforts on behalf of truth and justice can alone wipe out!

You know the legend that has grown up: Dreyfus was condemned justly and legally by seven infallible officers, whom it is impossible even to suspect of a blunder without insulting the whole army. Dreyfus expiates in merited torments his abominable crime, and as he is a Jew, a Jewish syndicate is formed, an international *sans patrie* syndicate disposing of hundreds of millions, the object of which is to save the traitor at any price, even by the most shameless intrigues. And thereupon this syndicate began to heap crime on crime, buying consciences, precipitating France into a disastrous tumult, resolved on selling her to the enemy, willing even to drive all Europe into a general war rather than renounce its terrible plan.

It is very simple, nay childish, if not imbecile. But it is with this poisoned bread that the unclean press has been nourishing our poor people now for months. And it is not surprising if we are witnessing a dangerous crisis; for when folly and lies are thus sown broadcast, you necessarily reap insanity.

Gentlemen, I would not insult you by supposing that you have your-

selves been duped by this nursery tale. I know you; I know who you are. You are the heart and the reason of Paris, of my great Paris, where I was born, which I love with an infinite tenderness, which I have been studying and writing of now for forty years. And I know likewise what is now passing in your brains; for, before coming to sit here as defendant, I sat there on the bench where you are now. You represent there the average opinion; you try to illustrate prudence and justice in the mass. Soon I shall be in thought with you in the room where you deliberate, and I am convinced that your effort will be to safeguard your interests as citizens, which are, of course, the interests of the whole nation. You may make a mistake, but you will do so in the thought that, while securing your own weal, you are securing the weal of all.

I see you at your homes at evening under the lamp; I hear you talk with your friends; I accompany you into your factories and shops. You are all workers—some tradesmen, others manufacturers, some professional men; and your very legitimate anxiety is the deplorable state into which business has fallen. Everywhere the present crisis threatens to become a disaster. The receipts fall off; transactions become more and more difficult. So that the idea which you have brought here, the thought that I read in your countenances, is that there has been enough of this and that it must be ended. You have not gone the length of saying, like many: "What matters it that an innocent man is at the *Ile du Diable*? Is the interest of a single man worth disturbing a great country?" But you say, nevertheless, that the agitation which we are carrying on, we who hunger for truth and justice, costs too dearly! And if you condemn me, gentlemen, it is that thought which will be at the bottom of your verdict. You desire tranquillity for your homes, you wish for the revival of business, and you may think that by punishing me you will stop a campaign that is injurious to the interests of France.

Well, gentlemen, if that is your idea, you are entirely mistaken. Do me the honor of believing that I am not defending my liberty. By punishing me you would only magnify me. Whoever suffers for truth and justice becomes august and sacred. Look at me. Have I the look of a hireling, of a liar, and a traitor? Why should I be playing a part? I have behind me neither political ambition nor sectarian passion. I am a free writer, who has given his life to labor; who tomorrow will go back to the ranks and resume his interrupted task. And how stupid are those who call me an Italian—me, born of a French mother, brought

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up by grandparents in the Beauce, peasants of that vigorous soil; me, who lost my father at seven years of age, who never went to Italy till I was fifty-four. And yet I am proud that my father was from Venice—the resplendent city whose ancient glory sings in all memories. And even if I were not French, would not the forty volumes in the French language, which I have sent by millions of copies throughout the world, suffice to make me a Frenchman?

So I do not defend myself. But what a blunder would be yours if you were convinced that by striking me you would re-establish order in our unfortunate country! Do you not understand now that what the nation is dying of is the darkness in which there is such an obstinate determination to leave her? The blunders of those in authority are being heaped upon those of others; one lie necessitates another, so that the mass is becoming formidable. A judicial blunder was committed, and then to hide it, it has been necessary to commit every day fresh crimes against good sense and equity! The condemnation of an innocent man has involved the acquittal of a guilty man, and now today you are asked in turn to condemn me because I have cried out in my anguish on beholding our country embarked on this terrible course. Condemn me, then! But it will be one more error added to the others—a fault the burden of which you will hear in history. And my condemnation, instead of restoring the peace for which you long, and which we all of us desire, will be only a fresh seed of passion and disorder. The cup, I tell you, is full; do not make it run over!

Why do you not judge justly the terrible crisis through which the country is passing? They say that we are the authors of the scandal, that we who are lovers of truth and justice are leading the nation astray and urging it to violence. Surely this is a mockery! To speak only of General Billot—was he not warned eighteen months ago? Did not Colonel Picquart insist that he should take up the matter of revision, if he did not wish the storm to burst and destroy everything? Did not M. Scheurer-Kestner, with tears in his eyes, beg him to think of France, and save her such a calamity? No! our desire has been to make peace, to allay discontent, and, if the country is now in trouble, the responsibility lies with the power which, to cover the guilty, and in the furtherance of political ends, has denied everything, hoping to be strong enough to prevent the truth from being revealed. It has maneuvered in behalf of darkness, and it alone is responsible for the present distraction of the public conscience!

The Dreyfus case, gentlemen, has now become a very small affair.

It is lost in view of the formidable questions to which it has given rise. There is no longer a Dreyfus case. The question now is whether France is still the France of the rights of man, the France that gave freedom to the world, and ought to give it justice. Are we still the most noble, the most fraternal, the most generous of nations? Shall we preserve our reputation in Europe for justice and humanity? Are not all the victories that we have won called in question? Open your eyes, and understand that, to be in such confusion, the French soul must have been stirred to its depths in face of a terrible danger. A nation cannot be thus moved without imperiling its moral existence. This is an exceptionally serious hour; the safety of the nation is at stake.

When you have understood that, gentlemen, you will feel that but one remedy is possible—to tell the truth, to do justice. Anything that keeps back the light, anything that adds darkness to darkness, will only prolong and aggravate the crisis. The duty of good citizens, of all who feel it to be imperatively necessary to put an end to this matter, is to demand broad daylight. There are already many who think so. The men of literature, philosophy, and science are rising in the name of intelligence and reason. And I do not speak of the foreigner, of the shudder that has run through all Europe. Yet the foreigner is not necessarily the enemy. Let us not speak of the nations that may be our opponents to-morrow. But great Russia, our ally; little and generous Holland; all the sympathetic nations of the north; those countries of the French language, Switzerland and Belgium—why are their hearts so heavy, so overflowing with sympathetic suffering? Do you dream, then, of an isolated France? Do you prefer, when you pass the frontier, not to meet the smile of approval for your historic reputation for equity and humanity?

Alas! Gentlemen, like so many others, you expect the thunderbolt to descend from heaven in proof of the innocence of Dreyfus. Truth does not come thus. It requires research and knowledge. We know well where the truth is, or where it might be found. But we dream of that only in the recesses of our souls, and we feel patriotic anguish lest we expose ourselves to the danger of having this proof someday cast in our face after having involved the honor of the army in a falsehood. I wish also to declare positively that, though in the official notice of our list of witnesses we included certain ambassadors, we had decided in advance not to call them. Our boldness has provoked smiles. But I do not think that there was any real smiling in our Foreign Office, for there they must have understood! We intended to say to those

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who know the whole truth that we also know it. This truth is gossiped about at the embassies; to-morrow it will be known to all, and, if it is now impossible for us to seek it where it is concealed by official red tape, the government, which is not ignorant—the government, which is convinced as we are—of the innocence of Dreyfus, will be able, whenever it likes and without risk, to find witnesses who will demonstrate everything.

Dreyfus is innocent. I swear it! I stake my life on it—my honor! At this solemn moment, in the presence of this tribunal which is the representative of human justice, before you, gentlemen, who are the very incarnation of the country, before the whole of France, before the whole world, I swear that Dreyfus is innocent. By my forty years of work, by the authority that this toil may have given me, I swear that Dreyfus is innocent. By all I have now, by the name I have made for myself, by my works, which have helped for the expansion of French literature, I swear that Dreyfus is innocent. May all that melt away, may my works perish, if Dreyfus be not innocent! He is innocent. All seems against me—the two Chambers, the civil authority, the most widely circulated journals, the public opinion they have poisoned. And I have for me only an ideal of truth and justice. But I am quite calm; I shall conquer. I was determined that my country should not remain the victim of lies and injustice. I may be condemned here. The day will come when France will thank me for having helped to save her honor.





# THE CANTERBURY TALES

*by Geoffrey Chaucer*

RENDERED INTO MODERN ENGLISH VERSE

*by J. U. Nicolson*

A CONDENSATION

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**NOTE:** *The editor's comments on various passages of this work and summaries of occasional omitted material occur in brackets throughout the text; the footnotes are also supplied by him.*

## HOME COURSE APPRECIATION

**I**N ALL LITERATURE THERE IS NOTHING to match *The Canterbury Tales*. The gallery of vivid portraits painted in the *Prologue* would alone have been sufficient to assure Chaucer a high rank among the masters of English literature. John Dryden, the first great English critic, extolled Chaucer thus: "He must have been a man of a most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as it has been truly observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his *Canterbury Tales* the various manners and humors . . . of the whole English nation of his age. Not a single character has escaped him. . . . It is sufficient to say, according to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We have our forefathers and great-grandames all before us as they were in Chaucer's days: their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England, though they are called by other names than those of monks and canons and lady abbesses and nuns; for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of nature though everything is altered." .

It is the work of Chaucer's mature age, when he could call on his wide experience of men of many ranks and conditions to create an imaginative presentation of real life. With humor and tender sympathy for helpless humanity, the keenly observant poet set down as the crowning work of his life the details of a society newly conscious of itself as a nation. This is the testament of a man so fired with the unquenchable curiosity characteristic of the Renaissance that he would sit over his book "as domb as any stone," and so athirst for

expression that he could not rest until he had equaled or surpassed the great books he had seen.

## HOW THE TALES ARE THREADED TOGETHER

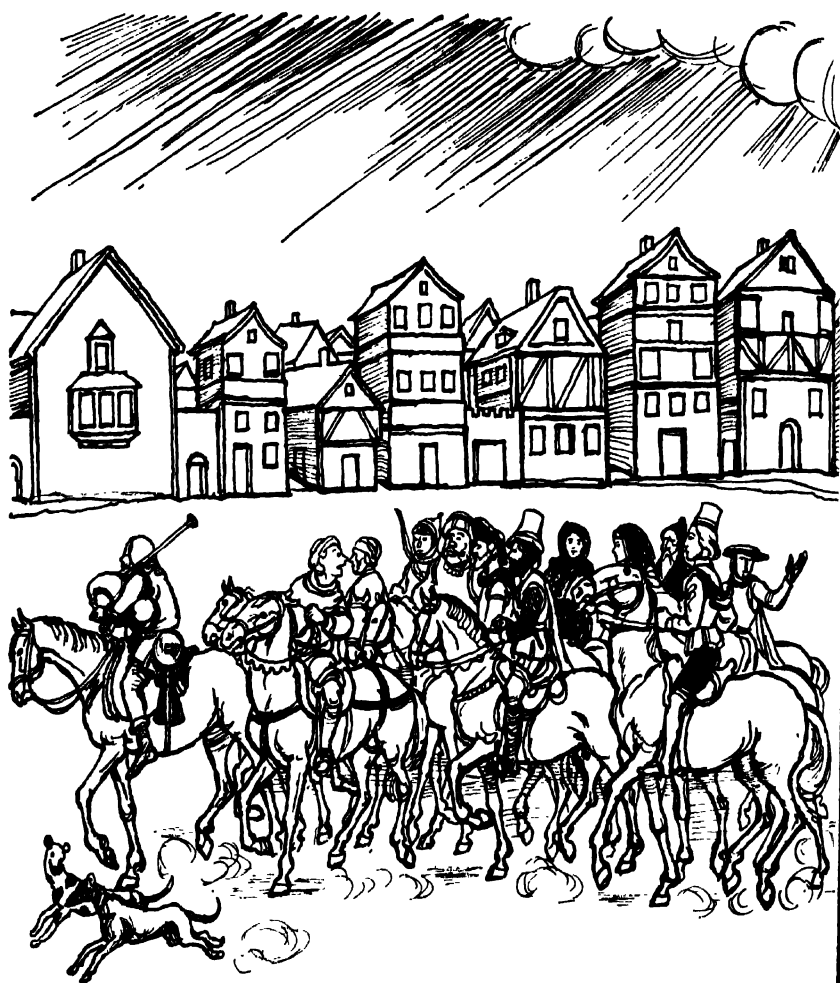
It is on a mild evening in the middle of April, when the harsh weather of March is passed and the sweet breath of spring has begun to stir men's souls and turn their eyes to the horizon, that Chaucer represents himself as stopping at the sign of The Tabard, an inn in Southwark. This suburb at the southern end of London Bridge is the way station for all travel to and from the south of England, and especially for pilgrimages to the famous shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury Cathedral. That night twenty-nine people Canterbury-bound arrive at the inn. Chaucer quickly makes their acquaintance and decides to join their company.

After supper, when the guests have all paid their reckonings, Harry Bailly, the Host of the inn, offers to show the pilgrims the way. He suggests that to relieve the tedium of the three or four day trip each traveler should tell two stories on the outward journey and two more on the way back. On the company's return to The Tabard, the teller of the best tale will be given a supper at the general expense. With the consent of the group, Harry will act as master of ceremonies and judge. Those who do not observe his rules will have to bear the company's expenses on the way. The company agrees, and the Canterbury Tales are begun.

## THE PILGRIMS

**B**RIGHT AND EARLY THE NEXT MORNING—it is Tuesday, April 17—the pilgrims fall in behind Harry Bailly and set out for Canterbury. Let us stop a moment and meet the company.

Representing the highest ranks of society, apart from the select circle of the court, is a Knight, so recently returned from foreign wars that his tunic still shows the smudges of his armor. A high-minded, noble warrior typical of the chivalry that was fast disappearing in Chaucer's day, he has fought for the faith in Algeria, Lithuania, Russia, Turkey, and Egypt. With him rides his son, a curly-headed Squire of about twenty years, happy, active and very strong. He has seen service in the Low Countries, and is already accomplished at dancing, drawing, and writing. These two are accompanied by their servant, a Yeoman, who is dressed in green and bears a sheaf of neat arrows ready to hand. His self-sufficient air and his well-ordered tackle mark



him as a prime example of the sturdy yeomanry whose long-bows had humbled the proud French knights at the Battle of Crecy in 1346.

Next comes a whole series of ecclesiastical figures, whose variety indicates the immense and diffuse activity of the medieval Church. First is a Prioress called Madame Eglentyne ("Lady Sweetbriar"), whose table manners are considerably more impeccable than her pronunciation of French, and whose exquisiteness of dress is at odds



“Bright and early in the morning, the pilgrims set out for Canterbury.”

with her holy vows. That she is a lady of some consequence we know from her attendants: a nun and three priests. Then comes a Monk, whose duty of riding about to check on the estates of his monastery agrees nicely with his hunting interests. His fondness for luxurious living is such that he doesn't give a straw for his monastic rule.

There is then a Friar, lax in assigning penances so long as he receives large offerings from backsliders, and a poor Parson whose work

is hampered by the begging friars but who lives up to his vows and cares for his parish without thinking of himself. After him come two sanctimonious scoundrels: a drunken Summoner, who hales people into the archdeacon's court for sins that he himself commits, and an unscrupulous Pardoner, full of trickery and fraud.

Next comes a group of guildsmen, dressed in the livery appropriate to their callings: a Haberdasher, a Dyer, a Carpenter, a Weaver, and a Carpet-maker. Stretching along the road behind them, some riding and others on foot, we see a Sailor, a Plowman, who is the Parson's brother and who loves his neighbor as himself; a Reeve, a Miller, a Manciple, a Doctor, a Sergeant of the Law, a Poor Clerk who spends all the money he gets on books; a Franklin, a Merchant, a Cook, and a much-married Woman of Bath.

Chaucer introduces us to these medieval types, parades them before us to display their dress, their tastes, their virtues and their failings, and then falls in with the company as it gathers about the Knight, the first to tell a tale. The procession moves forward, and we join the company to listen, too. So great is Chaucer's artistry as a portraitist, so convincingly has he breathed life into their descriptions we find ourselves nodding assent as he makes a sly apology for whatever they may say henceforth.

### CHAUCER'S LIFE

CHAUCER'S OWN VARIED LIFE had peculiarly equipped him to portray the people and the manners of the century. He was born sometime around 1340 in London, the son of a vintner. His father's connections with the court, as a purveyor of wines to the royal table, seems to have made it easy for Geoffrey, at seventeen, to become a page to Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Ulster and daughter-in-law to King Edward III. Two years later he went with John of Gaunt to fight in France. At the unsuccessful siege of the city of Rheims, Chaucer was taken prisoner. He was liberated on the payment of a ransom to which the king subscribed, and on his return to England he was made a yeoman in the king's household. He stayed at Edward's court, then one of the most brilliant in Europe, for about ten years. Very probably he spent this time studying law in one of the law schools around Holborn.

Toward the year 1372 he was sent to the Continent on royal business—the first of many such official missions he would undertake. On his return to London he held a variety of official jobs: Member of

Parliament, diplomatic agent, comptroller of customs, and clerk of the king's works. He experienced the ups and downs of patronage during changing reigns, but it is not likely that he was ever in want. From 1391 until his death he was a sub-forester of the king's park in North Petherton, a position with few requirements and a comfortable salary. It was Chaucer's last post. He died on October 25, 1400, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the part now known as the Poets' Corner.

### CHAUCEUR'S WORLD

THE NAMES that ring through Chaucer's lifetime recall one of the most dramatic periods of England's history: Edward the Confessor, beauteous Alice Perrers, Richard II, Bolingbroke, John of Gaunt, The Black Prince, John Wyclif, Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw. It was a time of national strength, when Saxon and Norman were uniting in a common pride and patriotism. And it was a period of marked transition toward the modern world. During the fourteenth century, England was changing from an agricultural country to a rich trading nation. The English archers who loosed their arrows at Crecy dealt a death blow to the feudal system that had been disintegrating. But it was the Black Death which caused the greatest upheaval and made the greatest change in the relation between earl and churl. Three times within the space of twenty years it ravaged England. The great demand for the services of the laboring classes who survived the plague raised them into a position of importance and independence that they had never before known. It was to be only a matter of time before a new economic system would replace the age-old feudal organization of society.

But during Chaucer's time fabulous riches and abysmal poverty existed side by side; prosperous merchants equaled and even surpassed the splendor of the aristocracy; the trade and craft brotherhoods met in sumptuous halls fit for kings. In misery about them dwelt somehow the large population of the poor. Harassed by taxes, harshly and unjustly treated, they finally revolted in 1381. Under the leadership of Wat Tyler they marched on London, razed Gaunt's magnificent palace at Savoy, and were not put down before an archbishop and Wat himself had been killed. For the duration of their rioting the kingdom of young King Richard tottered on the verge of anarchy.

Although part of the clergy was notoriously corrupt, more intent



on living a life of sensual ease than on following the teaching of the Gospel, there was an ever-growing body of "poor priests" who, following the example of Wyclif, roamed throughout the land preaching against the worldliness of the Church. The Lollards, as they were called, preached in English, the language into which Wyclif had translated the Latin Bible. Wherever they went they urged a return to the truths of the Gospels that every man could read for himself.

Yet, except for an oblique reference here and there, Chaucer shows us remarkably little of the strife and uncertainty which surrounded him. His interest was fixed in less transient things and he worked to record what was universal in its appeal. His genius was that of an observer of men and manners, and a narrator keen for the most telling detail.

### THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN TRAVEL

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT single event in Chaucer's life was his first trip to Italy in 1372. Italy was experiencing the full force of that great transformation and illumination which we now call the Renaissance. The world Chaucer saw on the far side of the Alps was to leave its mark on him forever. It is unlikely that he met either Petrarch or Boccaccio, but he pored over some of their works and later acknowledged their influence on his own work. He made the acquaintance of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which was then beginning to be recognized as the masterpiece it is. Dante had shown the courage to write his major work in the vernacular Italian instead of in the more formal Latin. When Chaucer decided to put his *Canterbury Tales* into common English rather than in the court language of French, he was quite possibly encouraged by the example of the earlier master.

The Italian experience widened Chaucer's horizons by giving him a glimpse of the great literature of the classical past. In doing so it added impetus to the tendency he had already shown to look away from the medieval world into the future. The medieval mind that had relied on authority for both thought and action, and settled disputes with the phrase *Magister dixit*—"the master has spoken"—had little appeal for a man who could not believe that this was an utterly barren world useful only as a preparation for the next. There was too much going on around him for Chaucer to suppress his natural inquisitiveness. The rediscovery of the past that he made by way of the Italians pushed him along in the direction dictated by his own temperament.

## THE SOURCES OF THE TALES

The basic plan of *The Canterbury Tales* was not new. Collections like *The Thousand and One Nights*, the *Sukasaptati* or Parrot Book of India and the *Jatakas* of Buddha, to say nothing of such works as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, had been enjoyed time out of mind. Collections of both secular and religious stories had been popular in the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance continued to be fascinated by them. Giovanni Sercambi in his *Novelle* gathered a group of stories of people he represented as on a pilgrimage, and Boccaccio, in his *Decameron* placed a collection of tales in verse within a larger, though very loose, framework. But Chaucer's plan was superior to all. His framework of the pilgrimage, giving us the conversation of the travelers as they begin and end the tales, lets them grow constantly. And in an age surfeited with allegory, his living portraits were strokes of pure genius. Most of them were the work of his imagination, though they were often close enough to identifiable people to arouse the curiosity of his listeners.

The tales themselves come from all over: from English tradition and French, from the Italian and Latin history books and the translations of Oriental lore. He used all types of stories current in his day: *fabliaux*—short stories in verse, generally comic and at times frankly coarse; *exempla*—pious tales ordinarily used by the clergy to drive home some point in a sermon, generally dealing with stories of the Virgin or of the saints (*The Physician's Tale*, *The Pardoner's Tale*); *miracles*—stories taken from the saints' lives; and *chivalric romances*, which idealized the knightly virtues and the supreme devotion to a fair lady. No matter the source, Chaucer took the old tales and made them fresh and living and wonderful.

## THE DRAMATIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE "TALES"

INSTEAD OF CREATING A STATIC STRUCTURE, as, for instance, seating a number of people in a room and having each one tell a story in turn, Chaucer sets the whole thing in motion by bringing together on a pilgrimage a number of widely differing individuals bound together by their desire for the safety and diversion a group would ensure. Class distinctions are marked, each class betrays its own interests and standards, yet no one rank shows slavish submission to another. The pilgrims register clearly their individual human traits.

As the procession moves along, the landscape changes, time passes, the procession breaks into groups, and the groups constantly shift and

new ones form. With a scheme that is entirely fluid Chaucer is free to handle his material as he wants.

There are indications that Chaucer wrote some of the tales long before he had thought of this way of combining them. Had he merely collected them and put them between the covers of one book, they would not have achieved the significance they now have. By becoming the expression of a particular aspect of society, or a specific personality, each story has gained a deeper meaning, until the whole is one of the two major social documents of the period.

### THE DESIGN OF THE "TALES"

The pilgrims act and react. They crack jokes about each other, argue and quarrel, and some overindulge at the alehouses. The Knight's tale is supposed to be followed by the Monk's, but the drunken Miller clamors to be heard. After the Man of Law finishes his story, the Host calls on the Parson, but the Shipman will have no lessons from the Gospel, and tells a tale of a dishonest monk. The Pardoner needs a lead to get him started, but the gentler members of the company protest. They've had enough of ribaldry and want a moral tale; the Pardoner promises to think honest thoughts as he drinks.

Skillful artist that he is, Chaucer weaves these elements together in a web of subtle strands, creating a firm background for the shifting action. The Host might be called such a "strand." His personality comes forward at regular intervals. He acts almost like an interlocutor in a minstrel show, who establishes the pace of the company and calls the changes after each story.

The always-fascinating subject of the relationship between men and women is another such "strand." It runs through the *Tales* and provides a basic theme on which variations of mood and attitude are worked. The Wife of Bath insists that a marriage is successful only if the woman is given an absolutely free rein. The Clerk of Oxford illustrates the opposite view by his story of the patient Griselda. The Merchant tells a bitter, satirical tale of disillusionment in marriage which is offset by the Franklin's beautiful and dramatic romance in which love, and love alone, is the controlling principle. Traditional differences give rise to other pairs of tales, as when the Miller and the Reeve tell insulting tales about each other's colleagues.

### "FATHER OF ENGLISH POETRY"

In Chaucer's time the language we now call "English" was only coming into being. Three major dialects that had grown out of Anglo-

Saxon were in use throughout the century, and the language of the court had been French since the days of the Norman conquest. Scholarly works were habitually written in Latin. Chaucer made a shrewd bet on the future and, passing by both French and Latin, wrote his masterpiece in the language of the rising middle class.

As time went by, the pronunciation of words changed. By the sixteenth century all knowledge of Chaucer's versification was lost and he was accused of having a barbarous and unmelodious ear. Even so appreciative a critic as Dryden lamented that Chaucer had known no rules. Once it was found that "time," in Chaucer, was not pronounced to rhyme with "climb," but was spoken "team-ah" Chaucer was seen to be a meticulous versifier with an astonishing perfection of rhythm—the first great poet in the English language.





## *The Prologue*

WHEN APRIL WITH HIS SHOWERS sweet with fruit  
The drought of March has pierced unto the root  
And bathed each vein with liquor that has power  
To generate therein and sire the flower;  
When Zephyr also has, with his sweet breath,  
Quickened again, in every holt and heath,  
The tender shoots and buds, and the young sun  
Into the Ram one half his course has run,  
And many little birds make melody  
That sleep through all the night with open eye  
(So Nature pricks them on to ramp and rage)—  
Then do folk long to go on pilgrimage,  
And palmers to go seeking out strange strands,  
To distant shrines well known in sundry lands.  
And specially from every shire's end  
Of England they to Canterbury wend,  
The holy blessed martyr \* there to seek  
Who helped them when they lay so ill and weak.  
Befell that, in that season, on a day  
In Southwark, at the Tabard, as I lay  
Ready to start upon my pilgrimage  
To Canterbury, full of devout homage,  
There came at nightfall to that hostelry

\* Thomas à Becket

Some nine and twenty in a company  
Of sundry persons who had chanced to fall  
In fellowship, and pilgrims were they all  
That toward Canterbury town would ride.  
The rooms and stables spacious were and wide,  
And well we there were eased, and of the best.  
And briefly, when the sun had gone to rest,  
So had I spoken with them, every one,  
That I was of their fellowship anon,  
And made agreement that we'd early rise  
To take the road, as you I will apprise.

But none the less, whilst I have time and space,  
Before yet farther in this tale I pace,  
It seems to me accordant with reason  
To inform you of the state of every one  
Of all of these, as it appeared to me,  
And who they were, and what was their degree,  
And even how arrayed there at the inn;  
And with a knight thus will I first begin.

A *Knight* there was, and he a worthy man,  
Who, from the moment that he first began  
To ride about the world, loved chivalry,  
Truth, honor, freedom and all courtesy.  
Full worthy was he in his liege-lord's war,  
And therein had he ridden (none more far)  
As well in Christendom as heathenesse,  
And honored everywhere for worthiness.

At Alexandria, he, when it was won;  
Full oft the table's roster he'd begun  
Above all nations' knights in Prussia.  
In Latvia raided he, and Russia,  
No christened man so oft of his degree.  
In far Granada at the siege was he  
Of Algeciras, and in Belmarie.  
At Ayas was he and at Satalye  
When they were won; and on the Middle Sea  
At many a noble meeting chanced to be.  
Of mortal battles he had fought fifteen,  
And he'd fought for our faith at Tramissene  
Three times in lists, and each time slan his foe.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

This self-same worthy Knight had been also  
At one time with the lord of Palatye  
Against another heathen in Turkey:  
And always won he sovereign fame for prize.  
Though so illustrious, he was very wise  
And bore himself as meekly as a maid.  
He never yet had any vileness said,  
In all his life, to whatsoever wight.  
He was a truly perfect, gentle knight.

But now, to tell you all of his array,  
His steeds were good, but yet he was not gay.  
Of simple fustian wore he a jupon  
Sadly discolored by his habergeon;  
For he had lately come from his voyage  
And now was going on this pilgrimage.

With him there was his son, a youthful *Squire*,  
A lover and a lusty bachelor,  
With locks well curled, as if they'd laid in press.  
Some twenty years of age he was, I guess.  
In stature he was of an average length,  
Wondrously active, aye, and great of strength.  
He'd ridden sometime with the cavalry  
In Flanders, in Artois, and Picardy,  
And borne him well within that little space  
In hope to win thereby his lady's grace.  
Prinked out he was, as if he were a mead,  
All full of fresh-cut flowers white and red.  
Singing he was, or fluting, all the day;  
He was as fresh as is the month of May.  
Short was his gown, with sleeves both long and wide.  
Well could he sit on horse, and fairly ride.  
He could make songs and words thereto indite,  
Joust, and dance too, as well as sketch and write.  
So hot he loved that, while night told her tale,  
He slept no more than does a nightingale.  
Courteous he, and humble, willing and able,  
And carved before his father at the table.

A *Yeoman* had he, nor more servants, no,  
At that time, for he chose to travel so;  
And he was clad in coat and hood of green.



That is to say, a monk out of his cloister.  
But this same text he held not worth an oyster;  
And I said his opinion was right good.  
What? Should he study as a madman would  
Upon a book in cloister cell? Or yet  
Go labor with his hands and swink and sweat,  
As Austin bids? How shall the world be served?  
Let Austin have his toil to him reserved.  
Therefore he was a rider day and night;  
Greyhounds he had, as swift as bird in flight.  
Since riding and the hunting of the hare  
Were all his love, for no cost would he spare.  
I saw his sleeves were purfled at the hand  
With fur of gray, the finest in the land;  
Also, to fasten hood beneath his chin,  
He had of good wrought gold a curious pin:  
A love-knot in the larger end there was.  
His head was bald and shone like any glass,  
And smooth as one anointed was his face.  
Fat was this lord, he stood in goodly case.  
His bulging eyes he rolled about, and hot  
They gleamed and red, like fire beneath a pot;  
His boots were soft; his horse of great estate.  
Now certainly he was a fine prelate:  
He was not pale as some poor wasted ghost.  
A fat swan loved he best of any roast.  
His palfrey was as brown as is a berry.

A ~~Friar~~<sup>Friar</sup> there was, a wanton and a merry,  
A limiter,\* a very festive man.

In all the Orders Four is none that can  
Equal his gossip and his fair language.  
He had arranged full many a marriage  
Of women young, and 'this at his own cost.  
Unto his order he was a noble post.  
Well liked by all and intimate was he  
With franklins everywhere in his country,  
And with the worthy women of the town:  
For at confessing he'd more power in gown  
(As he himself said) than a good curate,

\* A friar licensed to beg within certain limits

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

For of his order he was licentiate.  
He heard confession gently, it was said,  
Gently absolved too, leaving naught of dread.  
He was an easy man to give penance  
When knowing he should gain a good pittance;  
For to a begging friar, money given  
Is sign that any man has been well shriven.  
For if one gave (he dared to boast of this),  
He took the man's repentance not amiss.  
For many a man there is so hard of heart  
He cannot weep however pains may smart.  
Therefore, instead of weeping and of prayer,  
Men should give silver to poor friars all bare.  
His tippet was stuck always full of knives  
And pins, to give to young and pleasing wives.  
And certainly he kept a merry note:  
Well could he sing and play upon the rote.  
At balladry he bore the prize away.  
His throat was white as lily of the May;  
Yet strong he was as ever champion.  
In towns he knew the taverns, every one,  
And every good host and each barmaid too—  
Better than begging lepers, these he knew.  
For unto no such solid man as he  
Accorded it, as far as he could see,  
To have sick lepers for acquaintances.  
There is no honest advantageousness  
In dealing with such poverty-stricken curs;  
It's with the rich and with big victuallers.  
And so, wherever profit might arise,  
Courteous he was and humble in men's eyes.  
There was no other man so virtuous.  
He was the finest beggar of his house;  
A certain district being farmed to him,  
None of his brethren dared approach its rim;  
For though a widow had no shoes to show,  
So pleasant was his *In principio*,  
He always got a farthing ere he went.  
He lived by pickings, it is evident.  
And he could romp as well as any whelp.

On love days could he be of mickle help.  
For there he was not like a cloisterer,  
With threadbare cope as is the poor scholar,  
But he was like a lord or like a pope.  
Of double worsted was his semi-cope,  
That rounded like a bell, as you may guess.  
He lisped a little, out of wantonness,  
To make his English soft upon his tongue;  
And in his harping, after he had sung,  
His two eyes twinkled in his head as bright  
As do the stars within the frosty night.  
This worthy limiter was named Hubert.

There was a Merchant with forked beard, and girt  
In motley gown, and high on horse he sat,  
Upon his head a Flemish beaver hat;  
His boots were fastened rather elegantly.  
He spoke his notions out right pompously,  
Stressing the times when he had won, not lost.  
He would the sea were held at any cost  
Across from Middleburgh to Orwell town.  
At money-changing he could make a crown.  
This worthy man kept all his wits well set;  
There was no one could say he was in debt,  
So well he governed all his trade affairs  
With bargains and with borrowings and with shares.  
Indeed, he was a worthy man withal,  
But, sooth to say, his name I can't recall.

A Clerk from Oxford was with us also,  
Who'd turned to getting knowledge, long ago.  
As meagre was his horse as is a rake,  
Nor he himself too fat, I'll undertake,  
But he looked hollow and went soberly.  
Right threadbare was his overcoat; for he  
Had got him yet no churchly benefice,  
Nor was so worldly as to gain office.  
For he would rather have at his bed's head  
Some twenty books, all bound in black and red,  
Of Aristotle and his philosophy  
Than rich robes, fiddle, or gay psaltery.  
Yet, and for all he was philosopher,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

He had but little gold within his coffer;  
But all that he might borrow from a friend  
On books and learning he would swiftly spend,  
And then he'd pray right busily for the souls  
Of those who gave him wherewithal for schools.  
Of study took he utmost care and heed.  
Not one word spoke he more than was his need;  
And that was said in fullest reverence  
And short and quick and full of high good sense.  
Pregnant of moral virtue was his speech;  
And gladly would he learn and gladly teach.

A *Sergeant of the Law*,\* wary and wise,  
Who'd often gone to Paul's walk to advise,  
There was also, compact of excellence.  
Discreet he was, and of great reverence;  
At least he seemed so, his words were so wise.  
Often he sat as justice in assize,  
By patent or commission from the crown;  
Because of learning and his high renown,  
He took large fees and many robes could own.  
So great a purchaser was never known.  
All was fee simple to him, in effect,  
Wherefore his claims could never be suspect.  
Nowhere a man so busy of his class,  
And yet he seemed much busier than he was.  
All cases and all judgments could he cite  
That from King William's time were apposite.  
And he could draw a contract so explicit  
Not any man could fault therefrom elicit;  
And every statute he'd verbatim quote.  
He rode but badly in a medley coat,  
Belted in a silken sash, with little bars,  
But of his dress no more particulars.

There was a *Franklin* † in his company;  
White was his beard as is the white daisy.  
Of sanguine temperament by every sign,  
He loved right well his morning sop in wine.  
Delightful living was the goal he'd won,

\* A lawyer of the highest rank

† A large landowner but not a noble

For he was Epicurus' very son,  
That held opinion that a full delight  
Was true felicity, perfect and right.  
A householder, and that a great, was he;  
Saint Julian he was in his own country.  
His bread and ale were always right well done;  
A man with better cellars there was none.  
Baked meat was never wanting in his house,  
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous  
It seemed to snow therein both food and drink  
Of every dainty that a man could think.  
According to the season of the year  
He changed his diet and his means of cheer.  
Full many a fattened partridge did he mew,  
And many a bream and pike in fish-pond too.  
Woe to his cook, except the sauces were  
Poignant and sharp, and ready all his gear.  
His table, waiting in his hall alway,  
Stood ready covered through the livelong day.  
At county sessions was he lord and sire,  
And often acted as a knight of shire.  
A dagger and a trinket-bag of silk  
Hung from his girdle, white as morning milk.  
He had been sheriff and been auditor;  
And nowhere was a worthier vavasor.

*A Haberdasher and a Carpenter,  
An Arras-maker, Dyer, and Weaver*  
Were with us, clothed in similar livery,  
All of one sober, great fraternity.  
Their gear was new and well adorned it was;  
Their weapons were not cheaply trimmed with brass,  
But all with silver; chastely made and well  
Their girdles and their pouches too, I tell.  
Each man of them appeared a proper burgess  
To sit in guildhall on a high dais.  
And each of them, for wisdom he could span,  
Was fitted to have been an alderman;  
For chattels they'd enough, and, too, of rent;  
To which their goodwives gave a free assent,  
Or else for certain they had been to blame.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

It's good to hear "Madam" before one's name,  
And go to church when all the world may see,  
Having one's mantle borne right royally.

A *Cook* they had with them, just for the nonce,  
To boil the chickens with the marrow-bones,  
And flavor tartly and with galingale.  
Well could he tell a draught of London ale.  
And he could roast and seethe and broil and fry,  
And make a good thick soup, and bake a pie.  
But very ill it was, it seemed to me,  
That on his shin a deadly sore had he;  
For sweet blanc-mange, he made it with the best.

There was a *Sailor*, living far out west;  
For aught I know, he was of Dartmouth town.  
He sadly rode a hackney, in a gown,  
Of thick rough cloth falling to the knee.  
A dagger hanging on a cord had he  
About his neck, and under arm, and down.  
The summer's heat had burned his visage brown;  
And certainly he was a good fellow.  
Full many a draught of wine he'd drawn, I trow,  
Of Bordeaux vintage, while the trader slept.  
Nice conscience was a thing he never kept.  
If that he fought and got the upper hand,  
By water he sent them home to every land.  
But as for craft, to reckon well his tides,  
His currents and the dangerous watersides,  
His harbors, and his moon, his pilotage,  
There was none such from Hull to far Carthage.  
Hardy, and wise in all things undertaken,  
By many a tempest had his beard been shaken.  
He knew well all the havens, as they were,  
From Gotland to the Cape of Finisterre,  
And every creek in Brittany and Spain;  
His vessel had been christened *Madeleine*.

With us there was a *Doctor of Physic*;  
In all this world was none like him to pick  
For talk of medicine and surgery;  
For he was grounded in astronomy.  
He often kept a patient from the pall

By horoscopes and magic natural.  
Well could he tell the fortune ascendent  
Within the houses for his sick patient.  
He knew the cause of every malady,  
Were it of hot or cold, of moist or dry,  
And where engendered, and of what humor;  
He was a very good practitioner.  
The cause being known, down to the deepest root,  
Anon he gave to the sick man his boot.  
Ready he was, with his apothecaries,  
To send him drugs and all electuaries;  
By mutual aid much gold they'd always won—  
Their friendship was a thing not new begun.  
Well read was he in Esculapius,  
And Deiscorides, and in Rufus,  
Hippocrates, and Hali, and Galen,  
Serapion, Rhazes, and Avicen,  
Averrhoës, Gilbert, and Constantine,  
Bernard, and Gatisden, and John Damascene.  
In diet he was measured as could be,  
Including naught of superfluity,  
But nourishing and easy. It's no libel  
To say he read but little in the Bible.  
In blue and scarlet he went clad, withal,  
Lined with a taffeta and with sendal;  
And yet he was right chary of expense;  
He kept the gold he gained from pestilence.  
For gold in physic is a fine cordial,  
And therefore loved he gold exceeding all.

There was a *Housewife come from Bath*, or near,  
Who—sad to say—was deaf in either ear.  
At making cloth she had so great a bent  
She bettered those of Ypres and even of Ghent.  
In all the parish there was no goodwife  
Should offering make before her, on my life;  
And if one did, indeed, so wroth was she  
It put her out of all her charity.  
Her kerchiefs were of finest weave and ground;  
I dare swear that they weighed a full ten pound  
Which, of a Sunday, she wore on her head.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Her hose were of the choicest scarlet red,  
Close gartered, and her shoes were soft and new.  
Bold was her face, and fair, and red of hue.  
She'd been respectable throughout her life,  
With five churched husbands bringing joy and strife,  
Not counting other company in youth;  
But thereof there's no need to speak, in truth.  
Three times she'd journeyed to Jerusalem;  
And many a foreign stream she'd had to stem;  
At Rome she'd been, and she'd been in Boulogne,  
In Spain at Santiago, and at Cologne.  
She could tell much of wandering by the way:  
Gap-toothed was she, it is no lie to say.  
Upon an ambler easily she sat,  
Well wimpled, aye, and over all a hat  
As broad as is a buckler or a targe;  
A rug was tucked around her buttocks large,  
And on her feet a pair of sharpened spurs.  
In company well could she laugh her slurs.  
The remedies of love she knew, perchance,  
For of that art she'd learned the old, old dance.

There was a good man of religion, too,  
*A Country Parson*, poor, I warrant you;  
But rich he was in holy thought and work.  
He was a learned man also, a clerk,  
Who Christ's own gospel truly sought to preach;  
Devoutly his parishioners would he teach.  
Benign he was and wondrous diligent,  
Patient in adverse times and well content,  
As he was oftentimes proven; always blithe,  
He was right loath to curse to get a tithe,  
But rather would he give, in case of doubt,  
Unto those poor parishioners about,  
Part of his income, even of his goods.  
Enough with little, colored all his moods.  
Wide was his parish, houses far asunder,  
But never did he fail, for rain or thunder,  
In sickness, or in sin, or any state,  
To visit to the farthest, small and great,  
Going afoot, and in his hand a stave.



This fine example to his flock he gave,  
That first he wrought and afterwards he taught;  
Out of the gospel then that text he caught,  
And this figure he added thereunto—  
That, if gold rust, what shall poor iron do?  
For if the priest be foul, in whom we trust,  
What wonder if a layman yield to lust?  
And shame it is, if priest take thought for keep,  
A dirty shepherd, shepherding clean sheep.  
Well ought a priest example good to give,  
By his own cleanness, how his flock should live.  
He never let his benefice for hire,  
Leaving his flock to flounder in the mire,  
And ran to London, up to old Saint Paul's  
To get himself a chantry there for souls,  
Nor in some brotherhood did he withhold;  
But dwelt at home and kept so well the fold  
That never wolf could make his plans miscarry;  
He was a shepherd and not mercenary.  
And holy though he was, and virtuous,  
To sinners he was not impiteous,  
Nor haughty in his speech, nor too divine,  
But in all teaching prudent and benign.  
To lead folk into Heaven but by stress  
Of good example was his busyness.  
But if some sinful one proved obstinate,  
Be who it might, of high or low estate,  
Him he reprov'd, and sharply, as I know.  
There is nowhere a better priest, I trow.  
He had no thirst for pomp or reverence,  
Nor made himself a special, spiced conscience,  
But Christ's own lore, and His apostles' twelve  
He taught, but first he followed it himself.

With him there was a *Plowman*, was his brother,  
That many a load of dung, and many another  
Had scattered, for a good true toiler, he,  
Living in peace and perfect charity.  
He loved God most, and that with his whole heart,  
At all times, though he played or plied his art,  
And next, his neighbor, even as himself.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

He'd thresh and dig, with never thought of pelf,  
For Christ's own sake, for every poor wight,  
All without pay, if it lay in his might.  
He paid his taxes, fully, fairly, well,  
Both by his own toil and by stuff he'd sell.  
In a tabard he rode upon a mare.

There were also a *Reeve* and *Miller* there;  
A *Summoner*, *Manciple* and *Pardoner*,  
And these, beside myself, made all there were.

The *Miller* was a stout churl, be it known,  
Hardy and big of brawn and big of bone;  
Which was well proved, for when he went on lam  
At wrestling, never failed he of the ram.\*  
He was a chunky fellow, broad of build;  
He'd heave a door from hinges if he willed,  
Or break it through, by running, with his head.  
His beard, as any sow or fox, was red,  
And broad it was as if it were a spade.  
Upon the coping of his nose he had  
A wart, and thereon stood a tuft of hairs,  
Red as the bristles in an old sow's ears;  
His nostrils they were black and very wide.  
A sword and buckler bore he by his side.  
His mouth was like a furnace door for size.  
He was a jester and could poetize,  
But mostly all of sin and ribaldries.  
He could steal corn and full thrice charge his fees;  
And yet he had a thumb of gold, begad.  
A white coat and blue hood he wore, this lad.  
A bagpipe he could blow well, be it known,  
And with that same he brought us out of town.

There was a *Manciple* † from an inn of court,  
To whom all buyers might quite well resort  
To learn the art of buying food and drink;  
For whether he paid cash or not, I think  
That he so knew the markets, when to buy,  
He never found himself left high and dry.  
Now is it not of God a full fair grace

\* Prize

† A servant who purchased provisions for a college

That such a vulgar man has wit to pace  
The wisdom of a crowd of learned men?  
Of masters had he more than three times ten,  
Who were in law expert and curious;  
Whereof there were a dozen in that house  
Fit to be stewards of both rent and land  
Of any lord in England who would stand  
Upon his own and live in manner good,  
In honor, debtless (save his head were wood),  
Or live as frugally as he might desire;  
These men were able to have helped a shire  
In any case that ever might befall;  
And yet this Manciple outguessed them all.

The *Reeve* \* he was a slender, choleric man,  
Who shaved his beard as close as razor can.  
His hair was cut round even with his ears;  
His top was tonsured like a pulpитеer's.  
Long were his legs, and they were very lean,  
And like a staff, with no calf to be seen.  
Well could he manage granary and bin;  
No auditor could ever on him win.  
He could foretell, by drought and by the rain,  
The yielding of his seed and of his grain.  
His lord's sheep and his oxen and his dairy,  
His swine and horses, all his stores, his poultry,  
Were wholly in this steward's managing;  
And, by agreement, he'd made reckoning  
Since his young lord of age was twenty years;  
Yet no man ever found him in arrears.  
There was no agent, hind, or herd who'd cheat  
But he knew well his cunning and deceit;  
They were afraid of him as of the death.  
His cottage was a good one, on a heath;  
By green trees shaded with this dwelling-place.  
Much better than his lord could he purchase.  
Right rich he was in his own private right,  
Seeing he'd pleased his lord, by day or night,  
By giving him, or lending, of his goods,  
And so got thanked—but yet got coats and hoods.

\* An overseer on an estate

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

In youth he'd learned a good trade, and had been  
A carpenter, as fine as could be seen.

This steward sat a horse that well could trot,  
And was all dapple-grey, and was named Scot.  
A long surcoat of blue did he parade,  
And at his side he bore a rusty blade.  
Of Norfolk was this reeve of whom I tell,  
From near a town that men call Badeswell.  
Bundled he was like friar from chin to croup,  
And ever he rode hindmost of our troop.

A *Summoner* \* was with us in that place,  
Who had a fiery-red, cherubic face,  
For eczema he had; his eyes were narrow  
As hot he was, and lecherous, as a sparrow;  
With black and scabby brows and scanty beard;  
He had a face that little children feared.  
There was no mercury, sulfur, or litharge,  
No borax, ceruse, tartar, could discharge,  
Nor ointment that could cleanse enough, or bite,  
To free him of his boils and pimples white,  
Nor of the bosses resting on his cheeks.  
Well loved he garlic, onions, aye and leeks,  
And drinking of strong wine as red as blood.  
Then would he talk and shout as madman would.  
And when a deal of wine he'd poured within,  
Then would he utter no word save Latin.  
Some phrases had he learned, say two or three,  
Which he had garnered out of some decree;  
No wonder, for he'd heard it all the day;  
And all you know right well that even a jay  
Can call out "Wat" as well as can the pope.  
But when, for aught else, into him you'd grope,  
'Twas found he'd spent his whole philosophy;  
Just "*Questio quid juris*" † would he cry.  
He was a noble rascal, and a kind;  
A better comrade 'twould be hard to find.  
Why, he would suffer, for a quart of wine,  
Some good fellow to have his concubine

\* One who summons sinners to trials before ecclesiastical courts

† "The question is, what part of the law (applies)"

A twelve-month, and excuse him to the full  
(Between ourselves, though, he could pluck a gull).  
And if he chanced upon a good fellow,  
He would instruct him never to have awe,  
In such a case, of the archdeacon's curse,  
Except a man's soul lie within his purse;  
For in his purse the man should punished be.  
"The purse is the archdeacon's Hell," said he.  
But well I know he lied in what he said,  
A curse ought every guilty man to dread  
(For curse can kill, as absolution save),  
And 'ware *significavit* to the grave.  
In his own power had he, and at ease,  
The boys and girls of all the diocese,  
And knew their secrets, and by counsel led.  
A garland had he set upon his head,  
Large as a tavern's wine-bush on a stake;  
A buckler had he made of bread they bake.

With him there rode a gentle *Pardoner* \*  
Of Rouncival, his friend and his compeer;  
Straight from the court of Rome had journeyed he.  
Loudly he sang "Come hither, love, to me,"  
The Summoner joining with a burden round;  
Was never horn of half so great a sound.  
This Pardoner had hair as yellow as wax,  
But lank it hung as does a strike of flax;  
In wisps hung down such locks as he'd on head,  
And with them he his shoulders overspread;  
But thin they dropped, and stringy, one by one.  
But as to hood, for sport of it, he'd none,  
Though it was packed in wallet all the while.  
It seemed to him he went in latest style,  
Disheveled, save for cap, his head all bare.  
As shiny eyes he had as has a hare.  
He had a fine veronica sewed to cap.  
His wallet lay before him in his lap,  
Stuffed full of pardons brought from Rome all hot.  
A voice he had that bleated like a goat.

\* A seller of papal indulgences. Many pretending pardoners were wholly unauthorized. Their tricks were condemned by the Church.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

No beard had he, nor ever should he have,  
For smooth his face as he'd just had a shave;  
I think he was a gelding or a mare.  
But in his craft, from Berwick unto Ware,  
Was no such pardoner in any place.  
For in his bag he had a pillowcase  
The which, he said, was Our True Lady's veil:  
He said he had a piece of the very sail  
That good Saint Peter had, what time he went  
Upon the sea, till Jesus changed his bent.  
He had a latten cross set full of stones,  
And in a bottle had he some pig's bones.  
But with these relics, when he came upon  
Some simple parson, then this paragon  
In that one day more money stood to gain  
Than the poor dupe in two months could attain.  
And thus, with flattery and suchlike japes,  
He made the parson and the rest his apes.  
But yet, to tell the whole truth at the last,  
He was, in church, a fine ecclesiast.  
Well could he read a lesson or a story,  
But best of all he sang an offertory;  
For well he knew that when that song was sung,  
Then might he preach, and all with polished tongue.  
To win some silver, as he right well could;  
Therefore he sang so merrily and so loud.

Now have I told you briefly, in a clause,  
The state, the array, the number, and the cause  
Of the assembling of this company  
In Southwark, at this noble hostelry  
Known as the Tabard Inn, hard by the Bell.  
But now the time is come wherein to tell  
How all we bore ourselves that very night  
When at the hostelry we did alight.  
And afterward the story I engage  
To tell you of our common pilgrimage.  
But first, I pray you, of your courtesy,  
You'll not ascribe it to vulgarity  
Though I speak plainly of this matter here,  
Retailing you their words and means of cheer;

Nor though I use their very terms, nor lie.  
For this thing do you know as well as I:  
When one repeats a tale told by a man,  
He must report, as nearly as he can,  
Every least word, if he remember it,  
However rude it be, or how unfit;  
Or else he may be telling what's untrue,  
Embellishing and fictionizing too.  
He may not spare, although it were his brother;  
He must as well say one word as another.  
Christ spoke right broadly out, in holy writ,  
And, you know well, there's nothing low in it.  
And Plato says, to those able to read:  
"The word should be the cousin to the deed."  
Also, I pray that you'll forgive it me  
If I have not set folk, in their degree  
Here in this tale, by rank as they should stand.  
My wits are not the best, you'll understand.

Great cheer our Host gave to us, every one,  
And to the supper set us all anon;  
And served us then with victuals of the best.  
Strong was the wine and pleasant to each guest.  
A seemly man our good host was, withal,  
Fit to have been a marshal in some hall;  
He was a large man, with protruding eyes,  
As fine a burgher as in Cheapside lies;  
Bold in his speech, and wise, and right well taught,  
And as to manhood, lacking there in naught.  
Also, he was a very merry man,  
And after meat, at playing he began,  
Speaking of mirth among some other things,  
When all of us had paid our reckonings;  
And saying thus: "Now masters, verily  
You are all welcome here, and heartily:  
For by my truth, and telling you no lie,  
I have not seen, this year, a company  
Here in this inn, fitter for sport than now.  
Fain would I make you happy, knew I how.  
And of a game have I this moment thought  
To give you joy, and it shall cost you naught.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

“You go to Canterbury; may God speed  
And the blest martyr soon requite your meed.  
And well I know, as you go on your way,  
You’ll tell good tales and shape yourselves to play;  
For truly there’s no mirth nor comfort, none,  
Riding the roads as dumb as is a stone;  
And therefore will I furnish you a sport,  
As I just said, to give you some comfort.  
And if you like it, all, by one assent,  
And will be ruled by me, of my judgment,  
And will so do as I’ll proceed to say,  
Tomorrow, when you ride upon your way,  
Then, by my father’s spirit, who is dead,  
If you’re not gay, I’ll give you up my head.  
Hold up your hands, nor more about it speak.”

Our full assenting was not far to seek;  
We thought there was no reason to think twice,  
And granted him his way without advice,  
And bade him tell his verdict just and wise.

“Masters,” quoth he, “here now is my advice;  
But take it not, I pray you, in disdain;  
This is the point, to put it short and plain,  
That each of you, beguiling the long day,  
Shall tell two stories as you wend your way  
To Canterbury town; and each of you  
On coming home, shall tell another two,  
All of adventures he has known befall.  
And he who plays his part the best of all,  
That is to say, who tells upon the road  
Tales of best sense, in most amusing mode,  
Shall have a supper at the others’ cost  
Here in this room and sitting by this post,  
When we come back again from Canterbury.  
And now, the more to warrant you’ll be merry,  
I will myself, and gladly, with you ride  
At my own cost, and I will be your guide.  
But whosoever shall my rule gainsay  
Shall pay for all that’s bought along the way.  
And if you are agreed that it be so,  
Tell me at once, or if not, tell me no,



And I will act accordingly. No more."

This thing was granted, and our oaths we swore,  
With right glad hearts, and prayed of him, also,  
That he would take the office, nor forgo  
The place of governor of all of us,  
Judging our tales; and by his wisdom thus  
Arrange that supper at a certain price,  
We to be ruled, each one, by his advice  
In things both great and small; by one assent,  
We stood committed to his government.  
And thereupon, the wine was fetched anon;  
We drank, and then to rest went every one,  
And that without a longer tarrying.

Next morning, when the day began to spring,  
Up rose our Host, and acting as our cock,  
He gathered us together in a flock,  
And forth we rode, a jog-trot being the pace,  
Until we reached Saint Thomas' watering-place.  
And there our Host pulled horse up to a walk,  
And said: "Now, masters, listen while I talk.  
You know what you agreed at set of sun.  
If even-song and morning-song are one,  
Let's here decide who first shall tell a tale.  
And as I hope to drink more wine and ale,  
Whoso proves rebel to my government  
Shall pay for all that by the way is spent.  
Come now, draw cuts, before we farther win,  
And he that draws the shortest shall begin.  
Sir Knight," said he, "my master and my lord,  
You shall draw first as you have pledged your word.  
Come near," quoth he, "my lady Prioress:  
And you, Sir Clerk, put by your bashfulness,  
Nor ponder more; out hands, now, every man!"

At once to draw a cut each one began,  
And, to make short the matter, as it was,  
Whether by chance or whatsoever cause,  
The truth is, that the cut fell to the Knight,  
At which right happy then was every wight.  
Thus that his story first of all he'd tell,

According to the compact, it befell,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

As you have heard. Why argue to and fro?  
And when this good man saw that it was so,  
Being a wise man and obedient  
To plighted word, given by free assent,  
He said: "Since I must then begin the game,  
Why, welcome be the cut, and in God's name!  
Now let us ride, and hearken what I say."

And at that word we rode forth on our way;  
And he began to speak, with right good cheer,  
His tale anon, as it is written here.

### *The Knight's Tale*

#### PART I

ONCE ON A TIME, as old tales tell to us,  
There was a duke whose name was Theseus;  
Of Athens he was lord and governor,  
And in his time was such a conqueror  
That greater was there not beneath the sun.  
Full many a rich country had he won;  
What with his wisdom and his chivalry  
He gained the realm of Femininity,  
That was of old time known as Scythia.  
There wedded he the queen, Hippolyta,  
And brought her home with him to his country.  
In glory great and with great pageantry,  
And, too, her younger sister, Emily.  
And thus, in victory and with melody,  
Let I this noble duke to Athens ride  
With all his armed host marching at his side.

And truly, were it not too long to hear,  
I would have told you fully how, that year,  
Was gained the realm of Femininity  
By Theseus and by his chivalry;  
And all of the great battle that was wrought  
Where Amazons and the Athenians fought;  
And how was wooed and won Hippolyta,  
That fair and hardy queen of Scythia;

And of the feast was made at their wedding,  
And of the tempest at their home-coming;  
But all of that I must now forbear.  
I have, God knows, a large field for my share,  
And weak the oxen, and the soil is tough.  
The remnant of the tale is long enough.  
I will not hinder any, in my turn;  
Let each man tell his tale, until we learn  
Which of us all the most deserves to win;  
So where I stopped, again I'll now begin.

This duke of whom I speak, of great renown,  
When he had drawn almost unto the town,  
In all well-being and in utmost pride,  
He grew aware, casting his eyes aside,  
That right upon the road, as suppliants do,  
A company of ladies, two by two,  
Knelt, all in black, before his cavalcade;  
But such a clamorous cry of woe they made  
That in the whole world living man had heard  
No such a lamentation, on my word;  
Nor would they cease lamenting till at last  
They'd clutched his bridle reins and held them fast.

"What folk are you that at my home-coming  
Disturb my triumph with this dolorous thing?"  
Cried Theseus. "Do you so much envy  
My honor that you thus complain and cry?  
Or who has wronged you now, or who offended?  
Come, tell me whether it may be amended;  
And tell me, why are you clothed thus, in black?"

The eldest lady of them answered back,  
After she'd swooned, with cheek so deathly drear  
That it was pitiful to see and hear,  
And said: "Lord, to whom Fortune has but given  
Victory, and to conquer where you've striven,  
Your glory and your honor grieve not us;  
But we beseech your aid and pity thus.  
Have mercy on our woe and our distress.  
Some drop of pity, of your gentleness,  
Upon us wretched women, oh, let fall!  
For see, lord, there is no one of us all

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

That has not been a duchess or a queen;  
Now we are captives, as may well be seen:  
Thanks be to Fortune and her treacherous wheel,  
There's none can rest assured of constant weal.  
And truly, lord, expecting your return,  
In Pity's temple, where the fires yet burn,  
We have been waiting through a long fortnight;  
Now help us, lord, since it is in your might.

"I, wretched woman, who am weeping thus,  
Was once the wife of King Capaneus,  
Who died at Thebes, oh, cursed be the day!  
And all we that you see in this array,  
And make this lamentation to be known,  
All we have lost our husbands at that town  
During the siege that round about it lay.  
And now the old Creon, ah welaway!  
The lord and governor of Thebes city,  
Full of his wrath and all iniquity,  
He, in despite and out of tyranny,  
To do the dead a shame and villainy,  
Of all our husbands, lying among the slain,  
Has piled the bodies in a heap, amain,  
And will not suffer them, nor give consent,  
To buried be, or burned, nor will relent,  
But sets his dogs to eat them, out of spite."

And on that word, at once, without respite,  
They all fell prone and cried out piteously:  
"Have on us wretched women some mercy,  
And let our sorrows sink into your heart!"

This gentle duke down from his horse did start  
With heart of pity, when he'd heard them speak.  
It seemed to him his heart must surely break,  
Seeing them there so miserable of state,  
Who had been proud and happy but so late.  
And in his arms he took them tenderly,  
Giving them comfort understandingly:  
And swore his oath, that as he was true knight,  
He would put forth so thoroughly his might  
Against the tyrant Creon as to wreak  
Vengeance so great that all of Greece should speak

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

And say how Creon was by Theseus served,  
As one that had his death full well deserved.  
This sworn and done, he no more there abode;  
His banner he displayed and forth he rode  
Toward Thebes, and all his host marched on beside;  
Nor nearer Athens would he walk or ride,  
Nor take his ease for even half a day,  
But onward, and in camp that night he lay;  
And thence he sent Hippolyta the queen  
And her bright sister Emily, I ween,  
Unto the town of Athens, there to dwell  
While he went forth. There is no more to tell.

*[Duke Theseus rides forth to Thebes, kills King Creon in knightly combat, and restores the bodies of the dead husbands to the widows. Two young cousins, the princes Palamon and Arcita, are taken up from the battlefield where they lie wounded and sent to Athens as prisoners.]*

Thus passed by year by year and day by day,  
Till it fell out, upon a morn in May,  
That Emily, far fairer to be seen  
Than is the lily on its stalk of green,  
And fresher than is May with flowers new  
(For with the rose's color strove her hue,  
I know not which was fairer of the two),  
Before the dawn, as was her wont to do,  
She rose and dressed her body for delight;  
For May will have no sluggards of the night.  
That season rouses every gentle heart  
And forces it from winter's sleep to start,  
Saying: "Arise and show thy reverence."  
So Emily remembered to go thence  
In honor of the May, and so she rose.  
Clothed, she was sweeter than any flower that blows,  
Her yellow hair was braided in one tress  
Behind her back, a full yard long, I guess.  
And in the garden, as the sun up-rose,  
She sauntered back and forth and through each close,  
Gathering many a flower, white and red,  
To weave a delicate garland for her head;

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And like a heavenly angel's was her song.

The tower tall, which was so thick and strong,  
And of the castle was the great donjon,  
(Wherein the two knights languished in prison,  
Of whom I told and shall yet tell, withal),  
Was joined, at base, unto the garden wall  
Whereunder Emily went dallying.

Bright was the sun and clear that morn in spring,  
And Palamon, the woeful prisoner,

As was his wont, by leave of his jailer,  
Was up and pacing round that chamber high,  
From which the noble city filled his eye,  
And, too, the garden full of branches green,  
Wherein bright Emily, fair and serene,  
Went walking and went roving up and down.

This sorrowing prisoner, this Palamon,  
Being in the chamber, pacing to and fro,  
And to himself complaining of his woe,  
Cursing his birth, he often cried "Alas!"

And so it was, by chance or other pass,  
That through a window, closed by many a bar  
Of iron, strong and square as any spar,  
He cast his eyes upon Emilia,

And thereupon he blenched and cried out "Ah!"  
As if he had been smitten to the heart.

And at that cry Arcita did up-start,  
Asking: "My cousin, why what ails you now  
That you've so deathly pallor on your brow?  
Why did you cry out? Who's offended you?  
For God's love, show some patience, as I do,  
With prison, for it may not different be;  
Fortune has given this adversity.

Some evil disposition or aspect  
Of Saturn did our horoscopes affect  
To bring us here, though differently 'twere sworn;  
But so the stars stood when we two were born;  
We must endure it; that, in brief, is plain."

This Palamon replied and said again:  
"Cousin, indeed in this opinion now  
Your fancy is but vanity, I trow.

It's not our prison that caused me to cry.  
But I was wounded lately through the eye  
Down to my heart, and that my bane will be.  
The beauty of the lady that I see  
There in that garden, pacing to and fro,  
Is cause of all my crying and my woe.  
I know not if she's woman or goddess;  
But Venus she is verily, I guess."  
And thereupon down on his knees he fell,  
And said: "O Venus, if it be thy will  
To be transfigured in this garden, thus  
Before me, sorrowing wretch, oh now help us  
Out of this prison to be soon escaped.  
And if it be my destiny is shaped,  
By fate, to die in durance, in bondage,  
Have pity, then, upon our lineage  
That has been brought so low by tyranny."

And on that word Arcita looked to see  
This lady who went roving to and fro.  
And in that look her beauty struck him so  
That, if poor Palamon is wounded sore,  
Arcita is as deeply hurt, and more.  
And with a sigh he said then, piteously:  
"The virgin beauty slays me suddenly  
Of her that wanders yonder in that place;  
And save I have her pity and her grace,  
That I at least may see her day by day,  
I am but dead; there is no more to say."

This Palamon, when these words he had heard,  
Pitilessly he watched him, and answered:  
"Do you say this in earnest or in play?"

"Nay," quoth Arcita, "earnest, now, I say!  
God help me, I am in no mood for play!"

Palamon knit his brows and stood at bay.  
"It will not prove," he said, "to your honor  
After so long a time to turn traitor  
To me, who am your cousin and your brother,  
Sworn as we are, and each unto the other,  
That never, though for death in any pain,  
Never, indeed, till death shall part us twain,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Either of us in love shall hinder other,  
No, nor in any thing, O my dear brother;  
But that, instead, you shall so further me  
As I shall you. All this we did agree.  
Such was your oath and such was mine also.  
You dare not now deny it, well I know.  
Thus you are of my party, beyond doubt.  
And now you would all falsely go about  
To love my lady, whom I love and serve,  
And shall while life my heart's blood may preserve.  
Nay, false Arcita, it shall not be so.  
I loved her first, and told you all my woe,  
As to a brother and to one that swore  
To further me, as I have said before.  
For which you are in duty bound, as knight,  
To help me, if the thing lie in your might,  
Or else you're false, I say, and downfallen."

Then this Arcita proudly spoke again:  
"You shall," he said, "be rather false than I;  
And that you're so, I tell you utterly;  
For *par amour* I loved her first, you know.  
What can you say? You know not, even now,  
Whether she is a woman or goddess!  
Yours is a worship as of holiness,  
While mine is love, as of a mortal maid;  
Wherefore I told you of it, unafraid,  
As to my cousin and my brother sworn.  
Let us assume you loved her first, this morn;  
Know you not well the ancient writer's saw  
Of 'Who shall give a lover any law?'  
Love is a greater law, aye by my pan,\*  
Than man has ever given to earthly man.  
And therefore statute law and such decrees  
Are broken daily and in all degrees.  
A man must needs have love, maugre his head.  
He cannot flee it though he should be dead,  
And be she maid, or widow, or a wife.  
And yet it is not likely that, in life,  
You'll stand within her graces; nor shall I;

\* Brain-pan or skull.



For you are well aware, aye verily,  
That you and I are doomed to prison drear  
Perpetually; we gain no ransom here.  
We strive but as those dogs did for the bone;  
They fought all day, and yet their gain was none.  
Till came a kite while they were still so wroth  
And bore the bone away between them both.  
And therefore, at the king's court, O my brother,  
It's each man for himself and not for other.  
Love if you like; for I love and aye shall;  
And certainly, dear brother, that is all.  
Here in this prison cell must we remain  
And each endure whatever fate ordain."

*[Arcita is ransomed and released with the understanding that, should he ever be found in any country under Theseus' rule, he will be beheaded. Palamon remains imprisoned.]*

Summer being passed away and nights grown long,  
Increased now doubly all the anguish strong  
Both of the lover and the prisoner.  
I know not which one was the woefuller.  
For, to be brief about it, Palamon  
Is doomed to lie for ever in prison,  
In chains and fetters till he shall be dead;  
And exiled (on the forfeit of his head)  
Arcita must remain abroad, nor see,  
For evermore, the face of his lady.

You lovers, now I ask you this question:  
Who has the worse, Arcita or Palamon?  
The one may see his lady day by day,  
But yet in prison must he dwell for aye.  
The other, where he wishes, he may go,  
But never see his lady more, ah no.  
Now answer as you wish, all you that can,  
For I will speak right on as I began.

## PART II

Now when Arcita unto Thebes was come,  
He lay and languished all day in his home,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Since he his lady nevermore should see,  
But telling of his sorrow brief I'll be.  
Had never any man so much torture,  
No, nor shall have while this world may endure.  
Bereft he was of sleep and meat and drink,  
That lean he grew and dry as shaft, I think.  
His eyes were hollow and ghastly to behold,  
His face was sallow, all pale and ashen-cold,  
And solitary kept he and alone,  
Wailing the whole night long, making his moan.  
And if he heard a song or instrument,  
Then he would weep ungoverned and lament;  
So feeble were his spirits, and so low,  
And so changed was he, that no man could know  
Him by his words or voice, whoever heard.  
And in this change, for all the world he fared  
As if not troubled by malady of love,  
But by that humor dark and grim, whereof  
Springs melancholy madness in the brain,  
And fantasy unbridled holds its reign.  
And shortly, all was turned quite upside-down,  
Both habits and the temper all had known  
Of him, this woeful lover, Dan Arcite.

Why should I all day of his woe indite?  
When he'd endured all this a year or two,  
This cruel torment and this pain and woe,  
At Thebes, in his own country, as I said,  
Upon a night, while sleeping in his bed,  
He dreamed of how the winged God Mercury  
Before him stood and bade him happier be. . . .

And with that word he caught a great mirror,  
And saw how changed was all his old color,  
And saw his visage altered from its kind.  
And right away it ran into his mind  
That since his face was now disfigured so,  
By suffering endured (as well we know),  
He might, if he should bear him low in town,  
Live there in Athens evermore, unknown,  
Seeing his lady well-nigh every day.  
And right anon he altered his array,

Like a poor laborer in mean attire,  
And all alone, save only for a squire,  
Who knew his secret heart and all his case,  
And who was dressed as poorly as he was,  
To Athens was he gone the nearest way.  
And to the court he went upon a day,  
And at the gate he proffered services  
To drudge and drag, as any one devises.  
And to be brief herein, and to be plain,  
He found employment with a chamberlain  
Was serving in the house of Emily;  
For he was sharp and very soon could see  
What every servant did who served her there.  
Right well could he hew wood and water bear,  
For he was young and mighty, let me own,  
And big of muscle, aye and big of bone,  
To do what any man asked, in a trice.

*[Arcita, who now calls himself Philostrates, serves Emily so nobly that after two years Theseus makes him his personal squire. Meanwhile Palamon languishes in prison. At the end of seven years Palamon escapes. He hides in a grove near the city, and there overhears Arcita bemoan his hopeless love of Emily.]*

This Palamon, who thought that through his heart  
He felt a cold and sudden sword blade glide,  
For rage he shook, no longer would he hide.  
But after he had heard Arcita's tale,  
As he were mad, with face gone deathly pale,  
He started up and sprang out of the thicket,  
Crying: "Arcita, oh you traitor wicked,  
Now are you caught, that crave my lady so,  
For whom I suffer all this pain and woe,  
And are my blood, and know my secrets' store,  
As I have often told you heretofore,  
And have befooled the great Duke Theseus,  
And falsely changed your name and station thus:  
Either I shall be dead or you shall die.  
You shall not love my lady Emily,  
But I will love her, and none other, no;  
For I am Palamon, your mortal foe.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And though I have no weapon in this place,  
Being but out of prison by God's grace,  
I say again, that either you shall die  
Or else forgo your love for Emily.  
Choose which you will, for you shall not depart."

This Arcita, with scornful, angry heart,  
When he knew him and all the tale had heard,  
Fierce as a lion, out he pulled a sword,  
And answered thus: "By God that sits above!  
Were it not you are sick and mad for love,  
And that you have no weapon in this place,  
Out of this grove you'd never move a pace,  
But meet your death right now, and at my hand.  
For I renounce the bond and its demand  
Which you assert that I have made with you.  
What, arrant fool, love's free to choose and do,  
And I will have her, spite of all your might!  
But in as much as you're a worthy knight  
And willing to defend your love, in mail,  
Hear now this word: tomorrow I'll not fail  
(Without the cognizance of any wight)  
To come here armed and harnessed as a knight,  
And to bring arms for you, too, as you'll see;  
And choose the better and leave the worse for me.  
And meat and drink this very night I'll bring,  
Enough for you, and clothes for your bedding.  
And if it be that you my lady win  
And slay me in this wood that now I'm in,  
Then may you have your lady, for all of me."

This Palamon replied: "I do agree."  
And thus they parted till the morrow morn,  
When each had pledged his honor to return.

*[On the morning of the duel the Duke and his company come across the battling cousins. Palamon reveals their true identities; the Duke condemns them to death, but the women plead for them so well that the Duke relents.]*

He looked up to the sky, with eyes alight,  
And spoke these words, as he would promise plight:  
"The god of love, ah *benedicite!*

How mighty and how great a lord is he!  
Against his might may stand no obstacles,  
A true god is he by his miracles;  
For he can manage, in his own sweet wise,  
The heart of anyone as he devise.  
Lo, here, Arcita and this Palamon,  
That were delivered out of my prison,  
And might have lived in Thebes right royally,  
Knowing me for their mortal enemy,  
And also that their lives lay in my hand;  
And yet their love has wiled them to this land,  
Against all sense, and brought them here to die!  
Look you now, is not that a folly high?  
Who can be called a fool, except he love?  
And see, for sake of God who sits above,  
See how they bleed! Are they not well arrayed?  
Thus has their lord, the god of love, repaid  
Their wages and their fees for their service!  
And yet they are supposed to be full wise  
Who serve love well, whatever may befall!  
But this is yet the best jest of them all,  
That she for whom they have this jollity  
Can thank them for it quite as much as me;  
She knows no more of all this fervent fare,  
By God! than knows a cuckoo or a hare.  
But all must be essayed, both hot and cold,  
A man must play the fool, when young or old;  
I know it of myself from years long gone:  
For of love's servants I've been numbered one.  
And therefore, since I know well all love's pain,  
And know how sorely it can man constrain,  
As one that has been taken in the net,  
I will forgive your trespass, and forget,  
At instance of my sweet queen, kneeling here,  
Aye, and of Emily, my sister dear.  
And you shall presently consent to swear  
That nevermore will you my power dare,  
Nor wage war on me, either night or day,  
But will be friends to me in all you may;  
I do forgive this trespass, full and fair."

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And then they swore what he demanded there,  
And, of his might, they of his mercy prayed,  
And he extended grace, and thus he said:  
"To speak for royalty's inheritress,  
Although she be a queen or a princess,  
Each of you both is worthy, I confess,  
When comes the time to wed: but nonetheless,  
I speak now of my sister Emily,  
The cause of all this strife and jealousy—  
You know yourselves she may not marry two,  
At once, although you fight or what you do:  
One of you, then, and be he loath or lief,  
Must pipe his sorrows in an ivy leaf.  
That is to say, she cannot have you both,  
However jealous one may be, or wroth.  
Therefore I put you both in this decree,  
That each of you shall learn his destiny  
As it is cast; and hear, now, in what wise  
The word of fate shall speak through my device.

"My will is this, to draw conclusion flat,  
Without reply, or plea, or caveat  
(In any case, accept it for the best),  
That each of you shall follow his own quest,  
Free of all ransom or of fear from me;  
And this day, fifty weeks hence, both shall be  
Here once again, each with a hundred knights,  
Armed for the lists, who stoutly for your rights  
Will ready be to battle, to maintain  
Your claim to love. I promise you, again,  
Upon my word, and as I am a knight,  
That whichsoever of you wins the fight,  
That is to say, whichever of you two  
May with his hundred, whom I spoke of, do  
His foe to death, or out of boundary drive,  
Then he shall have Emilia to wive  
To whom Fortuna gives so fair a grace.  
The lists shall be erected in this place.  
And God so truly on my soul have ruth  
As I shall prove an honest judge, in truth.  
You shall no other judgment in me waken

Than that the one shall die or else be taken.  
And if you think the sentence is well said,  
Speak your opinion, that you're well repaid.  
This is the end, and I conclude hereon."

Who looks up lightly now but Palamon?  
Who leaps for you but Arcita the knight?  
And who could tell, or who could ever write  
The jubilation made within that place  
Where Theseus has shown so fair a grace?  
But down on knee went each one for delight  
And thanked him there with all his heart and might,  
And specially those Thebans did their part.  
And thus, with high hopes, being blithe of heart,  
They took their leave; and homeward did they ride  
To Thebes that sits within her old walls wide.

PART III

I think that men would deem it negligence  
If I forgot to tell of the expense  
Of Theseus, who went so busily  
To work upon the lists, right royally;  
For such an amphitheatre he made,  
Its equal never yet on earth was laid.  
The circuit, rising, hemmed a mile about,  
Walled all of stone and moated deep without.  
Round was the shape as compass ever traces,  
And built in tiers, the height of sixty paces,  
That those who sat in one tier, or degree,  
Should hinder not the folk behind to see.

Eastward there stood a gate of marble white,  
And westward such another, opposite.  
In brief, no place on earth, and so sublime,  
Was ever made in so small space of time;  
For in the land there was no craftsman quick  
At plane geometry or arithmetic,  
No painter and no sculptor of hard stone,  
But Theseus pressed meat and wage upon  
To build that amphitheatre and devise.  
And to observe all rites and sacrifice,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Over the eastern gate, and high above,  
For worship of Queen Venus, god of love,  
He built an altar and an oratory;  
And westward, being mindful of the glory  
Of Mars, he straightway builded such another  
As cost a deal of gold and many a bother.  
And northward, in a turret on the wall,  
Of alabaster white and red coral,  
An oratory splendid as could be,  
In honor of Diana's chastity,  
Duke Theseus wrought out in noble wise.

But yet have I forgot to advertise  
The noble carvings and the portraitures,  
The shapes, the countenances, the figures  
That all were in these oratories three.

*[Here Chaucer describes the beautiful temples to Venus, Mars, and Diana which Theseus has had built.]*

But hold I will from Theseus, and on  
To speak of Arcita and Palamon.

The day of their return is forthcoming,  
When each of them a hundred knights must bring  
The combat to support, as I have told;  
And into Athens, covenant to uphold,  
Has each one ridden with his hundred knights,  
Well armed for war, at all points, in their mights. . . .

And so it was with those with Palamon.  
With him there rode of good knights many a one;  
Some would be armored in a habergeon  
And in a breastplate, under light jupon;  
And some wore breast- and back-plates thick and large;  
And some would have a Prussian shield, or targe;  
Some on their very legs were armored well,  
And carried axe, and some a mace of steel.  
There is no new thing, now, that is not old.  
And so they all were armed, as I have told,  
To his own liking and design, each one.

There might you see, riding with Palamon,  
Lycurgus' self, the mighty king of Thrace;  
Black was his beard and manly was his face.



The eyeballs in the sockets of his head,  
They glowed between a yellow and a red.  
And like a griffon glared he round about  
From under bushy eyebrows thick and stout.  
His limbs were large, his muscles hard and strong,  
His shoulders broad, his arms both big and long,  
And, as the fashion was in his country,  
High in a chariot of gold stood he,  
With four white bulls in traces, to progress.  
Instead of coat-of-arms above harness,  
With yellow claws preserved and bright as gold,  
He wore a bear-skin, black and very old.  
His long combed hair was hanging down his back,  
As any raven's feather it was black:  
A wreath of gold, arm-thick, of heavy weight,  
Was on his head, and set with jewels great,  
Of rubies fine and perfect diamonds.  
About his car there circled huge white hounds,  
Twenty or more, as large as any steer,  
To hunt the lion or the antlered deer;  
And so they followed him, with muzzles bound,  
Wearing gold collars with smooth rings and round.  
A hundred lords came riding in his rout,  
All armed at point, with hearts both stern and stout.

With Arcita, in tales men call to mind,  
The great Emetreus, a king of Ind,  
Upon a bay steed harnessed all in steel,  
Covered with cloth of gold, all diapered well,  
Came riding like the god of arms, great Mars.  
His coat-of-arms was cloth of the Tartars,  
Begemmed with pearls, all white and round and great.  
Of beaten gold his saddle, burnished late;  
A mantle from his shoulders hung, the thing  
Close-set with rubies red, like fire blazing.  
His crisp hair all in bright ringlets was run,  
Yellow as gold and gleaming as the sun.  
His nose was high, his eyes a bright citrine,  
His lips were full, his coloring sanguine,  
And a few freckles on his face were seen,  
None either black or yellow, but the mean;

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And like a lion he his glances cast.  
Not more than five-and-twenty years he'd past.  
His beard was well beginning, now, to spring;  
His voice was as a trumpet thundering.  
Upon his brows he wore, of laurel green,  
A garland, fresh and pleasing to be seen.  
Upon his wrist he bore, for his delight,  
An eagle tame, as any lily white.  
A hundred lords came riding with him there,  
All armed, except their heads, in all their gear,  
And wealthily appointed in all things.  
For, trust me well, that dukes and earls and kings  
Were gathered in this noble company  
For love and for increase of chivalry.  
About this king there ran, on every side,  
Many tame lions and leopards in their pride.  
And in such wise these mighty lords, in sum,  
Were, of a Sunday, to the city come  
About the prime, and in the town did light.

This Theseus, this duke, this noble knight,  
When he'd conducted them to his city,  
And quartered them, according to degree,  
He feasted them, and was at so much pains  
To give them ease and honor, of his gains,  
That men yet hold that never human wit,  
Of high or low estate, could better it.  
The minstrelsy, the service at the feast,  
The great gifts to the highest and the least,  
The furnishings of Theseus' rich palace,  
Who highest sat or lowest on the dais,  
What ladies fairest were or best dandling,  
Or which of them could dance the best, or sing,  
Or who could speak most feelingly of love,  
Or what hawks sat upon the perch above,  
Or what great hounds were lying on the floor—  
Of all these I will make no mention more.

*[Before dawn Palamon rises and prays at the shrine of Venus; the statue of Venus trembles and Palamon takes this as a sign that his prayer shall be answered. Three hours later Emily rises and goes to*

Geoffrey Chaucer

*Diana's sanctuary. She prays that she remain unwed; Diana tells her it has been ordained that she marry, but does not disclose the husband-to-be. Shortly afterward, Arcita prays at the Temple of Mars. Mars promises him he will be victorious.]*

But thereupon such quarreling was begun,  
From this same granting, in the heaven above,  
'Twixt lovely Venus, goddess of all love,  
And Mars, the iron god armipotent,  
That Jove toiled hard to make a settlement;  
Until the sallow Saturn, calm and cold,  
Who had so many happenings known of old,  
Found from his full experience the art  
To satisfy each party and each part.  
For true it is, age has great advantage;  
Experience and wisdom come with age;  
Men may the old out-run, but not out-wit.  
Thus Saturn, though it scarcely did befit  
His nature so to do, devised a plan  
To quiet all the strife, and thus began:

"Now my dear daughter Venus," quoth Saturn,  
"My course, which has so wide a way to turn,  
Has power more than any man may know.  
Mine is the drowning in the sea below;  
Mine is the dungeon underneath the moat;  
Mine is the hanging and strangling by the throat;  
Rebellion, and the base crowd's murmuring,  
The groaning and the private poisoning,  
And vengeance and amercement—all are mine,  
While yet I dwell within the Lion's sign.  
Mine is the ruining of all high halls,  
And tumbling down of towers and of walls  
Upon the miner and the carpenter.  
I struck down Samson, that pillar shaker;  
And mine are all the maladies so cold,  
The treasons dark, the machinations old;  
My glance is father of all pestilence.  
Now weep no more. I'll see, with diligence,  
That Palamon, who is your own true knight,  
Shall have his lady, as you hold is right.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Though Mars may help his man, yet none the less  
Between you two there must come sometime peace,  
And though you be not of one temperament,  
Causing each day such violent dissent,  
I am your grandsire and obey your will;  
Weep then no more, your pleasure I'll fulfill."

Now will I cease to speak of gods above,  
Of Mars and Venus, goddess of all love,  
And tell you now, as plainly as I can,  
The great result, for which I first began.

### PART IV

. . . And on the morrow, when that day did spring,  
Of horse and harness, noise and clattering,  
There was enough in hostelrys about.  
And to the palace rode full many a rout  
Of lords, bestriding steeds and on palfreys.  
There could you see adjusting of harness,  
So curious and so rich, and wrought so well  
Of goldsmiths' work, embroidery, and of steel;  
The shields, the helmets bright, the gay trappings,  
The gold-hewn casques, the coats-of-arms, the rings,  
The lords in vestments rich, on their coursers,  
Knights with their retinues and also squires;  
The riveting of spears, the helm-buckling,  
The strapping of the shields, and thong-lacing—  
In their great need, not one of them was idle;  
The frothing steeds, champing the golden bridle,  
And the quick smiths, and armorers also,  
With file and hammer spurring to and fro;  
Yeoman, and peasants with short staves were out,  
Crowding as thick as they could move about;  
Pipes, trumpets, kettledrums, and clarions,  
That in the battle sound such grim summons;  
The palace full of people, up and down,  
Here three, there ten, debating the renown  
And questioning about these Theban knights,  
Some put it thus, some said, "It's so by rights."  
Some held with him who had the great black beard,

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

Some with the bald-heads, some with the thick-haired;  
Some said, "He looks grim, and he'll fight like hate;  
He has an axe of twenty pound in weight."

And thus the hall was full of gossiping  
Long after the bright sun began to spring. . . .

A herald on a scaffold cried out "Ho!"  
Till all the people's noise was stilled; and so,  
When he observed that all were fallen still,  
He then proclaimed the mighty ruler's will.

"The duke our lord, full wise and full discreet,  
Holds that it were but wanton waste to meet  
And fight, these gentle folk, all in the guise  
Of mortal battle in this enterprise.  
Wherefore, in order that no man may die,  
He does his earlier purpose modify.  
No man, therefore, on pain of loss of life,  
Shall any arrow, pole-axe, or short knife  
Send into lists in any wise, or bring;  
Nor any shortened sword, for point-thrusting,  
Shall a man draw, or bear it by his side.  
Nor shall a knight against opponent ride,  
Save one full course, with any sharp-ground spear;  
Unhorsed, a man may thrust with any gear.  
And he that's overcome, should this occur,  
Shall not be slain, but brought to barrier,  
Whereof there shall be one on either side;  
Let him be forced to go there and abide.  
And if by chance the leader there must go,  
Of either side, or slay his equal foe,  
No longer, then, shall tourneying endure.  
God speed you; go forth now, and lay on sure.  
With long sword and with maces fight your fill.  
Go now your ways; this is the lord duke's will."

The voices of the people rent the skies,  
Such was the uproar of their merry cries:  
"Now God save such a lord, who is so good  
He will not have destruction of men's blood!"

*[The amphitheater is filled; Theseus, his Queen and Emily arrive,  
and the jousts begin.]*

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

The heralds cease their spurring up and down;  
Now ring the trumpets as the charge is blown;  
And there's no more to say, for east and west  
Two hundred spears are firmly laid in rest;  
And the sharp spurs are thrust, now, into side.  
Now see men who can joust and who can ride!  
Now shivered are the shafts on bucklers thick;  
One feels through very breast-bone the spear's prick;  
Lances are flung full twenty feet in height;  
Out flash the swords like silver burnished bright.  
Helmets are hewed, the lacings ripped and shred;  
Out bursts the blood, gushing in stern streams red.  
With mighty maces bones are crushed in joust.  
One through the thickest throng begins to thrust.  
There strong steeds stumble now, and down goes all.  
One rolls beneath their feet as rolls a ball.  
One flails about with club, being overthrown,  
Another, on a mailed horse, rides him down.  
One through the body's hurt, and haled, for aid,  
Spite of his struggles, to the barricade,  
As compact was, and there he must abide;  
Another's captured by the other side.  
At times Duke Theseus orders them to rest,  
To eat a bite and drink what each likes best.  
And many times that day those Thebans two  
Met in the fight and wrought each other woe;  
Unhorsed each has the other on that day.  
No tigress in the vale of Galgophey,  
Whose little whelp is stolen in the light,  
Is cruel to the hunter as Arcite  
For jealousy is cruel to Palamon;  
Nor in Belmarie, when the hunt is on  
Is there a lion, wild for want of food,  
That of his prey desires so much the blood  
As Palamon the death of Arcite there.  
Their jealous blows fall on their helmets fair;  
Out leaps the blood and makes their two sides red.  
But sometime comes the end of every deed;  
And ere the sun had sunk to rest in gold,  
The mighty King Emetreus did hold

This Palamon, as he fought with Arcite,  
And made his sword deep in the flesh to bite;  
And by the force of twenty men he's made,  
Unyielded, to withdraw to barricade.  
And, trying hard to rescue Palamon,  
The mighty King Lycurgus is borne down;  
And King Emetreus, for all his strength,  
Is hurled out of the saddle a sword's length,  
So hits out Palamon once more, or ere  
(But all for naught) he's brought to barrier.  
His hardy heart may now avail him naught;  
He must abide there now, being fairly caught  
By force of arms, as by provision known.

Who sorrows now but woeful Palamon,  
Who may no more advance into the fight?  
And when Duke Theseus had seen this sight,  
Unto the warriors fighting, every one,  
He cried out: "Hold! No more! For it is done!  
Now will I prove true judge, of no party.  
Theban Arcita shall have Emily,  
Who, by his fortune, has her fairly won." . . .

This fierce Arcita doffs his helmet soon,  
And mounted on a horse, to show his face,  
He spurs from end to end of that great place,  
Looking aloft to gaze on Emily;  
And she cast down on him a friendly eye  
(For women, generally speaking, go  
Wherever Fortune may her favor show);  
And she was fair to see, and held his heart.  
But from the ground infernal furies start,  
From Pluto sent, at instance of Saturn,  
Whereat his horse, for fear, began to turn  
And leap aside, all suddenly falling there;  
And Arcita before he could beware  
Was pitched upon the ground, upon his head,  
And lay there, moving not, as he were dead,  
His chest crushed in upon the saddle-bow.  
And black he lay as ever coal, or crow,  
So ran the surging blood into his face.  
Anon they carried him from out that place,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

With heavy hearts, to Theseus' palace.  
There was his harness cut away, each lace,  
And swiftly was he laid upon a bed,  
For he was yet alive and some words said,  
Crying and calling after Emily. . . .  
"Oh, take me in your gentle arms, I pray,  
For love of God, and hear what I will say.  
I have here, with my cousin Palamon,  
Had strife and rancor many a day that's gone,  
For love of you and for my jealousy.  
May Jove so surely guide my soul for me,  
To speak about a lover properly,  
With all the circumstances, faithfully—  
That is to say, truth, honor, and knighthood,  
Wisdom, humility and kinship good,  
And generous soul and all the lover's art—  
So now may Jove have in my soul his part  
As in this world, right now, I know of none  
So worthy to be loved as Palamon,  
Who serves you and will do so all his life.  
And if you ever should become a wife,  
Forget not Palamon, the noble man."

And with that word his speech to fail began,  
For from his feet up to his breast had come  
The cold of death, making his body numb.  
And furthermore, from his two arms the strength  
Was gone out, now, and he was lost, at length.  
Only the intellect, and nothing more,  
Which dwelt within his heart so sick and sore,  
Began to fail now, when the heart felt death,  
And his eyes darkened, and he failed of breath.  
But on his lady turned he still his eye,  
And his last word was, "Mercy, Emily!"

*[Arcita is given a magnificent funeral in the very grove where he and Palamon had fought for love.]*

With passing in their length of certain years,  
All put by was the mourning and the tears  
Of Greeks, as by one general assent;  
And then it seems there was a parliament



At Athens, upon certain points in case;  
Among the which points spoken of there was  
The ratifying of alliances  
That should hold Thebes from all defiances.  
Whereat this noble Theseus, anon,  
Invited there the gentle Palamon,  
Not telling him what was the cause and why;  
But in his mourning clothes, and sorrowfully,  
He came upon that bidding, so say I.  
And then Duke Theseus sent for Emily.  
When they were seated and was hushed the place,  
And Theseus had mused a little space,  
Ere any word came from his full wise breast,  
His two eyes fixed on whoso pleased him best,  
Then with a sad face sighed he deep and still,  
And after that began to speak his will.

“The Primal Mover and the Cause above,  
When first He forged the goodly chain of love,  
Great the effect, and high was His intent;  
Well knew He why, and what thereof He meant;  
For with that goodly chain of love He bound  
The fire, the air, the water, and dry ground  
In certain bounds, the which they might not flee;  
That same First Cause and Mover,” then quoth he,  
“Has stablished in this base world, up and down,  
A certain length of days to call their own  
For all that are engendered in this place,  
Beyond the which not one day may they pace,  
Though yet all may that certain time abridge;  
Authority there needs none, I allege,  
For it is well proved by experience,  
Save that I please to clarify my sense.  
Then may men by this order well discern  
This Mover to be stable and eterne.  
Well may man know, unless he be a fool,  
That every part derives but from the whole.  
For Nature has not taken his being  
From any part and portion of a thing,  
But from a substance perfect, stable aye,  
And so continuing till changed away.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And therefore, of His Wisdom's Providence,  
Has He so well established ordinance  
That species of all things and all progressions,  
If they'd endure, it must be by successions,  
Not being themselves eternal, 'tis no lie:  
This may you understand and see by eye.

"Lo now, the oak, that has long nourishing  
Even from the time that it begins to spring,  
And has so long a life, as we may see,  
Yet at the last all wasted is the tree.

"Consider, too, how even the hard stone  
Under our feet we tread each day upon  
Yet wastes it, as it lies beside the way.  
And the broad river will be dry some day.  
And great towns wane; we see them vanishing.  
Thus may we see the end to everything.

"Of man and woman just the same is true:  
Needs must, in either season of the two,  
That is to say, in youth or else in age,  
All men perish, the king as well as page;  
Some in their bed, and some in the deep sea,  
And some in the wide field—as it may be;  
There's naught will help; all go the same way. Aye,  
Then may I say that everything must die.  
Who causes this but Jupiter the King?  
He is the Prince and Cause of everything,  
Converting all back to that primal well  
From which it was derived, 'tis sooth to tell.  
And against this, for every thing alive,  
Of any state, avails it not to strive.

"Then is it wisdom, as it seems to me,  
To make a virtue of necessity,  
And calmly take what we may not eschew,  
And specially that which to all is due.  
Whoso would balk at aught, he does folly,  
And thus rebels against His potency.  
And certainly a man has most honor  
In dying in his excellence and flower,  
When he is certain of his high good name;  
For then he gives to friend, and self, no shame.

And gladder ought a friend be of his death  
When, in much honor, he yields up his breath,  
Than when his name's grown feeble with old age;  
For all forgotten, then, is his courage.  
Hence it is best for all of noble name  
To die when at the summit of their fame.  
The contrary of this is wilfulness.  
Why do we grumble? Why have heaviness  
That good Arcita, chivalry's fair flower,  
Is gone, with honor, in his best-lived hour.  
Out of the filthy prison of this life?  
Why grumble here his cousin and his wife  
About his welfare, who loved them so well?  
Can he thank them? Nay, God knows, not! Nor tell  
How they his soul and their own selves offend,  
Though yet they may not their desires amend.

“What may I prove by this long argument  
Save that we all turn to merriment,  
After our grief, and give Jove thanks for grace.  
And so, before we go from out this place,  
I counsel that we make, of sorrows two,  
One perfect joy, lasting for aye, for you;  
And look you now, where most woe is herein,  
There will we first amend it and begin.

“Sister,” quoth he, “you have my full consent,  
With the advice of this my Parliament,  
That gentle Palamon, your own true knight,  
Who serves you well with will and heart and might,  
And so has ever, since you knew him first—  
That you shall, of your grace, allay his thirst  
By taking him for husband and for lord:  
Lend me your hand, for this is our accord.  
Let now your woman's pity make him glad.  
For he is a king's brother's son, by gad;  
And though he were a poor knight bachelor,  
Since he has served you for so many a year,  
And borne for you so great adversity,  
This ought to weigh with you, it seems to me,  
For mercy ought to dominate mere right.”

Then said he thus to Palamon the knight:

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

"I think there needs but little sermoning  
To make you give consent, now, to this thing.  
Come near, and take your lady by the hand."

Between them, then, was tied that nuptial band,  
Which is called matrimony or marriage,  
By all the council and the baronage.  
And thus, in all bliss and with melody,  
Has Palamon now wedded Emily.  
And God, Who all this universe has wrought,  
Send him His love, who has it dearly bought.  
For now has Palamon, in all things, wealth,  
Living in bliss, in riches, and in health;  
And Emily loved him so tenderly,  
And he served her so well and faithfully,  
That never word once marred their happiness,  
No jealousy, nor other such distress.  
Thus ends now Palamon and Emily;  
And may God save all this fair company!

Amen.

### *The Words between the Host and the Miller*

NOW WHEN THE KNIGHT had thus his story told,  
In all the rout there was nor young nor old  
But said it was a noble story, well  
Worthy to be kept in mind to tell;  
And specially the gentle folk, each one.  
Our Host, he laughed and swore, "So may I run,  
But this goes well; unbuckled is the mail;  
Let's see now who can tell another tale:  
For certainly the game is well begun.  
Now shall you tell, Sir Monk, if't can be done,  
Something with which to pay for the Knight's tale."

The Miller, who with drinking was all pale,  
So that unsteadily on his horse he sat,  
He would not take off either hood or hat,  
Nor wait for any man, in courtesy,  
But all in Pilate's voice began to cry,  
And by the Arms and Blood and Bones he swore,

Geoffrey Chaucer

"I have a noble story in my store,  
With which I will requite the good Knight's tale."

Our Host saw, then, that he was drunk with ale,  
And said to him: "Wait, Robin, my dear brother,  
Some better man shall tell us first another:  
Submit and let us work on profitably."

"Now by God's soul," cried he, "that will not I!  
For I will speak, or else I'll go my way."

Our Host replied: "Tell on, then, till doomsday!  
You are a fool, your wit is overcome."

"Now hear me," said the Miller, "all and some!  
But first I make a protestation round  
That I'm quite drunk, I know it by my sound:  
And therefore, if I slander or mis-say,  
Blame it on ale of Southwark, so I pray;  
For I will tell a legend and a life  
Both of a carpenter and of his wife. . . ."

*[The Miller tells a story of a carpenter named Absalom, his wife,  
and a young student called Nicholas, in which the carpenter is  
made a fool.]*

*The Reeve's Prologue*

WHEN FOLK HAD LAUGHED their fill at this nice pass  
Of Absalom and clever Nicholas,  
Then divers folk diversely had their say;  
And most of them were well amused and gay,  
Nor at this tale did I sec one man grieve,  
Save it were only old Oswald the Reeve,  
Because he was a carpenter by craft.  
A little anger in his heart was left,  
And he began to grouse and blame a bit.

"S' help me," said he, "full well could I be quit  
With blearing of a haughty Miller's eye,  
If I but chose to speak of ribaldry.  
But I am old; I will not play, for age;  
Grass time is done, my fodder is rummage,  
This white top advertises my old years,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

My heart, too, is as moldy as my hairs,  
Unless I fare like medlar, all perverse.  
For that fruit's never ripe until it's worse,  
And falls among the refuse or in straw.  
We ancient men, I fear, obey this law:  
Until we're rotten, we cannot be ripe;  
We dance, indeed, the while the world will pipe.  
Desire sticks in our nature like a nail  
To have, if hoary head, a verdant tail,  
As has the leek; for though our strength be gone.  
Our wish is yet for folly till life's done.  
For when we may not act, then will we speak;  
Yet in our ashes is there fire to reek.

“Four embers have we, which I shall confess:  
Boasting and lying, anger, covetousness;  
These four remaining sparks belong to eld.  
Our ancient limbs may well be hard to wield,  
But lust will never fail us, that is truth.  
And yet I have had always a colt's tooth,  
As many years as now are past and done  
Since first my tap of life began to run.  
For certainly, when I was born, I know  
Death turned my tap of life and let it flow;  
And ever since that day the tap has run  
Till nearly empty now is all the tun.  
The stream of life now drips upon the chime;  
The silly tongue may well ring out the time  
Of wretchedness that passed so long before;  
For oldsters, save for dotage, there's no more.”

Now when our Host had heard this sermoning,  
Then did he speak as lordly as a king;  
He said: “To what amounts, now, all this wit?  
Why should we talk all day of holy writ?  
The devil makes a steward for to preach,  
And of a cobbler, a sailor or a leech.  
Tell forth your tale, and do not waste the time.  
Here's Deptford! And it is half way to prime.  
There's Greenwich town that many a scoundrel's sin;  
It is high time your story should begin.”

“Now, sirs,” then said this Oswald called the Reeve,

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

"I pray you all, now, that you will not grieve  
Though I reply and somewhat twitch his cap;  
It's lawful to meet force with force, mayhap.

"This drunken Miller has related here  
How was beguiled and fooled a carpenter—  
Perchance in scorn of me, for I am one.  
So, by your leave, I'll him requite anon;  
All in his own boor's language will I speak.  
I only pray to God his neck may break.  
For in my eye he well can see the mote,  
But sees not in his own the beam, you'll note."

*[The Reeve is as good as his word and tells a story about a miller who is duped.]*

*The Cook's Prologue*

THE COOK FROM LONDON, while the Reeve yet spoke,  
Patted his back with pleasure at the joke.  
"Ha, ha!" laughed he, "by Christ's great suffering,  
This miller had a mighty sharp ending  
Upon his argument of harborage!  
For well says Solomon, in his language,  
'Bring thou not every man into thine house;'  
For harboring by night is dangerous.  
Well ought a man to know the man that he  
Has brought into his own security.  
I pray God give me sorrow and much care  
If ever, since I have been Hodge \* of Ware,  
Heard I of miller better brought to mark.  
A wicked jest was played him in the dark.  
But God forbid that we should leave off here;  
And therefore, if you'll lend me now an ear,  
From what I know, who am but a poor man,  
I will relate, as well as ever I can,  
A little trick was played in our city."

Our Host replied: "I grant it readily.  
Now tell on, Roger; see that it be good;

\* A nickname for Roger.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

For many a pasty have you robbed of blood,  
And many a Jack of Dover \* have you sold  
That has been heated twice and twice grown cold.  
From many a pilgrim have you had Christ's curse,  
For of your parsley they yet fare the worse,  
Which they have eaten with your stubble goose;  
For in your shop full many a fly is loose.  
Now tell on, gentle Roger, by your name.  
But yet, I pray, don't mind if I make game,  
A man may tell the truth when it's in play."

"You say the truth," quoth Roger, "by my fay!  
But 'true jest, bad jest' as the Fleming saith.  
And therefore, Harry Bailey, on your faith,  
Be you not angry ere we finish here,  
If my tale should concern an inn-keeper.  
Nevertheless, I'll tell not that one yet,  
But ere we part your jokes will I upset."

And thereon did he laugh, in great good cheer,  
And told his tale, as you shall straightway hear.

### *The Cook's Tale*

THERE LIVED A 'PRENTICE, once, in our city,  
And of the craft of victualers was he;  
Happy he was as goldfinch in the glade,  
Brown as a berry, short, and thickly made,  
With black hair that he combed right prettily.  
He could dance well, and that so jollily,  
That he was nicknamed Perkin Reveler.  
He was as full of love, I may aver,  
As is a beehive full of honey sweet;  
Well for the wench that with him chanced to meet.  
At every bridal would he sing and hop,  
Loving the tavern better than the shop.

When there was any festival in Cheap,†  
Out of the shop and thither would he leap,  
And, till the whole procession he had seen,

\* A stale pie.

† Cheapside, the ancient London market



And danced his fill, he'd not return again.  
He gathered many fellows of his sort  
To dance and sing and make all kinds of sport.  
And they would have appointments for to meet  
And play at dice in such, or such, a street.  
For in the whole town was no apprentice  
Who better knew the way to throw the dice  
Than Perkin; and therefore he was right free  
With money, when in chosen company.  
His master found this out in business there;  
For often-times he found the till was bare.  
For certainly a reveling bond-boy  
Who loves dice, wine, dancing, and girls of joy—  
His master, in his shop, shall feel the effect,  
Though no part have he in this said respect;  
For theft and riot always comrades are,  
And each alike he played on gay guitar.  
Revels and truth, in one of low degree,  
Do battle always, as all men may see.

This 'prentice shared his master's fair abode  
Till he was nigh out of his 'prenticehood,  
Though he was checked and scolded early and late,  
And sometimes led, for drinking, to Newgate;  
But at the last his master did take thought,  
Upon a day, when he his ledger sought,  
On an old proverb wherein is found this word:  
"Better take rotten apple from the hoard  
Than let it lie to spoil the good ones there."  
So with a drunken servant should it fare;  
It is less ill to let him go, apace,  
Than ruin all the others in the place.  
Therefore he freed and cast him loose to go  
His own road unto future care and woe;  
And thus this jolly 'prentice had his leave.  
Now let him riot all night long, or thieve.

But since there's never thief without a buck  
To help him waste his money and to suck  
All he can steal or borrow by the way,  
Anon he sent his bed and his array  
To one he knew, a fellow of his sort,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Who loved the dice and revels and all sport,  
And had a wife that kept, for countenance,  
A shop. . . .

*[Of this Cook's tale Chaucer wrote no more. Here, it is assumed, ends the first day.]*

### *Introduction to the Lawyer's Prologue*

OUR GOOD HOST saw well that the shining sun  
The arc of artificial day had run  
A quarter part, plus half an hour or more;  
And though not deeply expert in such lore,  
He reckoned that it was the eighteenth day  
Of April, which is harbinger to May;  
And saw well that the shadow of each tree  
Was, as to length, of even quantity  
As was the body upright causing it.  
And therefore by the shade he had the wit  
To know that Phoebus, shining there so bright,  
Had climbed degrees full forty-five in height;  
And that, that day, and in that latitude,  
It was ten of the clock, he did conclude,  
And suddenly he put his horse about.

"Masters," quoth he, "I warn all of this rout,  
A quarter of this present day is gone;  
Now for the love of God and of Saint John,  
Lose no more time, or little as you may;  
Masters, the time is wasting night and day,  
And steals away from us, what with our sleeping  
And with our sloth, when we awake are keeping,  
As does the stream, that never turns again,  
Descending from the mountain to the plain.  
And well may Seneca, and many more,  
Bewail lost time far more than gold in store.  
'For chattels lost may yet recovered be,  
But time lost ruins us for aye,' says he. . . .

"Sir Lawyer," said he, "as you have hope of bliss,  
Tell us a tale, as our agreement is;

Geoffrey Chaucer

You have submitted, by your free assent,  
To stand, in this case, to my sole judgment;  
Acquit yourself, keep promise with the rest,  
And you'll have done your duty, at the least.”  
“Mine Host,” said he, “by the gods, I consent;  
To break a promise is not my intent.  
A promise is a debt, and by my fay  
I keep all mine; I can no better say.  
For such law as man gives to other wight,  
He should himself submit to it, by right;  
Thus says our text; nevertheless, 'tis true  
I can relate no useful tale to you,  
But Chaucer, though he speaks but vulgarly  
In metre and in rhyming dextrously,  
Has told them in such English as he can,  
In former years, as knows full many a man.  
For if he has not told them, my dear brother,  
In one book, why he's done so in another.  
For he has told of lovers, up and down,  
More than old Ovid mentions, of renown,  
In his *Epistles*, that are now so old.  
Why should I then re-tell what has been told?  
In youth he told of Ceyx and Alcyon,  
And has since then spoken of everyone—  
Of noble wives and lovers did he speak.  
And whoso will that weighty volume seek  
Called *Legend of Good Women*, need not chide;  
There may be ever seen the large wounds wide  
Of Lucrece, Babylonian Thisbe;  
Dido's for false Aeneas when fled he;  
Demophoon and Phyllis and her tree;  
The plaint of Deianira and Hermione;  
Of Ariadne and Hypsipyle;  
The barren island standing in the sea;  
The drowned Leander and his fair Hero;  
The tears of Helen and the bitter woe  
Of Briseis and that of Laodomea;  
The cruelty of that fair Queen Medea,  
Her little children hanging by the neck  
When all her love for Jason came to wreck!

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

O Hypermnestra, Penelope, Alcestis,  
Your wifehood does he honor, since it best is!

“But certainly no word has written he  
Of that so wicked woman, Canace,  
Who loved her own blood brother sinfully.  
Of suchlike cursed tales, I say ‘Let be!’ . . .

“But for my tale, what shall I do this day?  
Any comparison would me displease  
To Muses whom men call Pierides  
(The *Metamorphoses* show what I mean).  
Nevertheless, I do not care a bean  
Though I come after him with my plain fare.  
I’ll stick to prose. Let him his rhymes prepare.”

And thereupon, with sober face and cheer,  
He told his tale, as you shall read it here.

[*The Lawyer discourses on the evil of poverty and then launches into his tale.*]

### *The Lawyer’s Tale*

IN SYRIA, once, there dwelt a company  
Of traders rich, all sober men and true,  
That far abroad did send their spicery,  
And cloth of gold, and satins rich in hue;  
Their wares were all so excellent and new  
That everyone was eager to exchange  
With them, and sell them divers things and strange.

It came to pass, the masters of this sort  
Decided that to Rome they all would wend,  
Were it for business or for only sport;  
No other message would they thither send,  
But went themselves to Rome; this is the end.  
And there they found an inn and took their rest  
As seemed to their advantage suited best.

Sojourned have now these merchants in that town  
A certain time, as fell to their pleasance.

Geoffrey Chaucer

And so it happened that the high renown  
Of th' emperor's daughter, called the fair Constance,  
Reported was, with every circumstance,  
Unto these Syrian merchants, in such wise,  
From day to day, as I will now apprise.

*[So begins a holy legend of nearly one hundred and fifty verses, filled with marvels. First the beautiful and virtuous Constance is wedded to the Sultan of Syria, who for her sake accepts Christian baptism. On the return of the wedding party to Syria, however, all the new converts, including the Sultan, are slaughtered by the Moslems and Constance is set adrift in a rudderless boat.*

*Miraculously she drifts for three years the whole length of the Mediterranean, up the Atlantic coast, through the stormy English Channel and finally to Northumbria in England, then still a heathen land. There she is falsely accused of murder, is miraculously saved and married by the local king, Alla, whom she converts to Christianity. While he is away warring in Scotland, Queen Constance gives birth to a boy; but her evil, heathen mother-in-law forges letters and contrives to have Constance and her child set adrift again in the same rudderless craft, supposedly by King Alla's order. Five more years of miraculous navigation bring mother and child to Rome where (for reasons not made clear) she delays reporting to her father, the Emperor. To Rome also comes King Alla, and finds his wife and child alive.]*

Long was the sobbing and the bitter pain  
Before their woeful hearts could find surcease;  
Great was the pity to hear them complain,  
Whereof their sorrows surely did increase.  
I pray you all my labor to release;  
I cannot tell their grief until tomorrow,  
I am so weary, speaking long of sorrow.

But, truth being known and all doubt now dismissed,  
And Alla proven guiltless of her woe,  
I think a hundred times they must have kissed,  
And such great bliss there was between the two  
That, save the joy that nevermore shall go,  
There was naught like it, present time or past,  
Nor shall be, ever, while the world shall last.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Then prayed she of her husband, all meekly,  
As for her pain a splendid anodyne,  
That he would pray her father, specially,  
That, of his majesty, he would incline  
And that, some day, would come with him to dine;  
She prayed him, also, he should in no way  
Unto her father one word of her say. . . .

The morrow came, and Alla rose to dress,  
And, too, his wife, the emperor to meet;  
And forth they rode in joy and happiness.  
And when she saw her father in the street,  
She lighted down, and falling at his feet,  
"Father," quoth she, "your young child, your Constance,  
Is now gone clean out of your remembrance.

"I am your daughter Constance," then said she,  
"That once you sent to Syria. 'Tis I.  
It is I, father, who, on the salt sea,  
Was sent, alone to drift and doomed to die.  
But now, good father, mercy must I cry:  
Send me no more to heathendom, godless,  
But thank my lord, here, for his kindliness."

But all the tender joy, who'll tell it all  
That was between the three who thus are met?  
But of my tale, now, make an end I shall;  
The day goes fast, I will no longer fret.  
These happy folk at dinner are all set,  
And there, in joy and bliss, I let them dwell;  
Happier a thousand fold than I can tell.

*[But their restored happiness is short-lived.]*

For death, that takes from high and low his rent,  
When but a year had passed, as I should guess,  
Out of the world King Alla quickly sent,  
For whom Constance felt heavy wretchedness.  
Now let us pray that God his soul will bless!  
And of Dame Constance, finally to say,  
Towards the town of Rome she took her way.

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

To Rome is come this holy one and pure,  
And finds that all her friends are safe and sound;  
For now she's done with all her adventure;  
And when she'd come there, and her father found,  
Down on her two knees fell she to the ground,  
Weeping but joyful gave she God her praise  
A hundred thousand times for all His ways.

In virtue, and with alms and holy deed,  
They all live there, nor ever asunder wend;  
Till death does part them, such a life they lead.  
And fare now well, my tale is at an end.  
And Jesus Christ, Who of His might may send  
Joy after woe, govern us by His grace  
And keep us all that now are in this place!

Amen.

*The Sailor's Prologue*

OUR HOST UPON HIS stirrups stood, anon,  
And said: "Good men, now hearken, every one;  
This was a useful story, for the nonce!  
Sir Parish Priest," quoth he, "for God His bones,  
Tell us a tale, as you agreed before.  
I see well that you learned men of lore  
Have learned much good, by God's great dignity!"

The Parson answered: "*Benedicite!* \*  
What ails the man, so sinfully to swear?"

Our Host replied: "Ho, Jenkin, are you there?  
I smell a Lollard † in the wind," quoth he.  
"Ho, good men!" said our Host, "now hearken me;  
Wait but a bit, for God's high passion do,  
For we shall have a sermon ere we're through;  
This Lollard here will preach to us somewhat."

"Nay, by my father's soul, that shall he not!"  
Replied the Sailor; "Here he shall not preach,  
Nor comment on the gospels here, nor teach.

\* Bless ye (the Lord)

† The Lollards, followers of John Wyclif, reprov'd swearing.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

We all believe in the great God," said he,  
"But he would sow among us difficulty,  
Or sprinkle cockles in our good clean corn;  
And therefore, Host, beforehand now, I warn  
My jolly body shall a story tell  
And I will clink for you so merry a bell  
That it shall waken all this company;  
But it shall not be of philosophy,  
Nor yet of physics, nor quaint terms of law;  
There is but little Latin in my maw."

*[The Sailor tells a tale of a dishonest monk who conspires with a merchant's wife to defraud the merchant of a sum of money. The Host next turns to the Prioress who tells a short tale of a miracle of the Virgin.]*

### *Prologue to Sir Thopas*

WHEN TOLD WAS ALL this miracle, every man  
So sober fell 'twas wonderful to see,  
Until our Host in jesting wise began,  
And for the first time did he glance at me,  
Saying, "What man are you?"—'twas thus quoth he—  
"You look as if you tried to find a hare,  
For always on the ground I see you stare.

"Come near me then, and look up merrily.  
Now make way, sirs, and let this man have place;  
He in the waist is shaped as well as I;  
This were a puppet in an arm's embrace  
For any woman, small and fair of face.  
Why, he seems absent, by his countenance,  
And gossips with no one for dalliance.

"Since other folk have spoken, it's your turn;  
Tell us a mirthful tale, and that anon."

"Mine Host," said I, "don't be, I beg, too stern,  
For of good tales, indeed, sir, have I none,  
Save a long rhyme I learned in years ago."

"Well, that is good," said he; "now shall we hear  
It seems to me, a thing to bring us cheer."



*Sir Thopas*

LISTEN, lords, with good intent,  
I truly will a tale present  
Of mirth and of solace;  
All of a knight was fair and gent  
In battle and in tournament.  
His name was Sir Thopas.

Born he was in a far country,  
In Flanders, all beyond the sea,  
And Poperinghe the place;  
His father was a man full free,  
And lord he was of that countree,  
As chanced to be God's grace.

Sir Thopas was a doughty swain,  
White was his brow as paindemaine,\*  
His lips red as a rose;  
His cheeks were like poppies in grain,  
And I tell you, and will maintain,  
He had a comely nose.

*[In jingling rhymes Chaucer starts upon his burlesque romance of chivalry. Sir Thopas decides to seek an Elf-Queen for his bride, ventures into Fairy-Land, is chased out by a three-headed giant named Sir Elephant, returns home to arm himself properly, sets forth again, "Till on a day . . ."]*

*The Host Halts Chaucer in His Tale of Sir Thopas*

NO MORE OF THIS, for God's high dignity!"  
Exclaimed our Host, "For you, sir, do make me  
So weary with your vulgar foolishness  
That, as may God so truly my soul bless,  
My two ears ache from all your worthless speech;  
Now may such rhymes the devil have, and each!  
This sort of thing is doggerel," said he.

\* White bread of the finest quality

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

"Why so?" I asked, "Why will you hinder me  
In telling tales more than another man,  
Since I have told the best rhyme that I can?"

"You do naught else but waste and fritter time.  
Sir, in one word, you shall no longer rhyme.  
Let's see if you can use the country verse,  
Or tell a tale in prose—you might do worse—  
Wherein there's mirth or doctrine good and plain."

"Gladly," said I, "by God's sweet tears and pain,  
I will relate a little thing in prose  
That ought to please you, or so I suppose. . . .

*[Here follows the Tale of Melibeus, a lengthy discourse in prose, which is not so much a story as a philosophical dialogue. The starting-point for the discussion is a raid on Melibeus' house by three burglars, in the course of which Melibeus' daughter is wounded. The question debated, chiefly between Melibeus and his wife Prudence, is whether or not it is proper to take revenge for injuries.]*

*Dame Prudence does most of the talking and persuades her husband that a woman's advice deserves consideration, that private vengeance is uncertain and unjustifiable and that it is better to seek peaceful reconciliation. These arguments are buttressed by countless citations from authorities: Biblical texts from Job, Solomon, St. Paul; the Church Fathers, particularly St. Augustine, St. Gregory, Pope Innocent; Latin authors such as Cato, Cicero and especially Seneca.*

*In the end, Melibeus publicly forgives his enemies, after first pointing out how wicked they were and how magnanimous he is. What became of his injured daughter is not stated.]*

### *The Monk's Prologue*

WHEN ENDED was my tale of Melibee  
And of Prudence and her benignity,  
Our Host remarked: "As I am faithful man,  
And by the precious *corpus Madrian*,  
I'd rather than a barrel of good ale  
That my wife Goodlief could have heard this tale!  
For she has no such patience, I'll avow,

As had this Melibeus' Prudence, now.  
By God's own bones! When I do beat my knaves  
She fetches forth the stoutest gnarly staves  
And cries out: 'Slay the damned dogs, every one!  
And break their bones, backbone and every bone!'   
And if but any neighbor, aye, of mine  
Will not, in church, bow to her and incline,  
Or happens to usurp her cherished place,  
Why, she comes home and ramps right in my face,  
Crying, 'False coward, go avenge your wife!  
By *corpus* bones! Come, let me have your knife,  
And you shall take my distaff and go spin!'   
From day to day like this will she begin:  
'Alas!' she cries, 'that ever fate should shape  
My marriage with a milksop coward ape  
That may be overborne by every wight!  
You dare not stand up for your own wife's right!'   
This is my life, unless I choose to fight;  
And through the door anon I must take flight,  
Or else I'm lost, unless, indeed, that I  
Be like a young wild lion, foolhardy.  
I know well she will make me kill, one day,  
Some neighbor man and have to run away.  
For I am dangerous with a knife in hand,  
Albeit that I dare not her withstand;  
For she's big of arm, and wickedly inclined,  
As anyone who crosses her will find.  
But let us leave that doleful subject here.

"My lord the Monk," said he, "be of good cheer;  
For you shall tell a tale, and verily.  
Lo, Rochester is standing there hard by!  
Ride up, my own liege lord, break not our game,  
But, by my truth, I do not know your name,  
Whether I ought to call you lord Don John,  
Or Don Thomas, or else Don Albion?  
Of what house are you, by your father's kin?  
I vow to God you have a right fair skin;  
It is a noble pasture where you're most;  
You are not like a penitent or ghost.  
Upon my faith, you are some officer,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Some worthy sexton, or a cellarer,  
For by my father's soul, I guess, in sum,  
You are a master when you are at home.  
No cloisterer or novice can you be:  
A wily governor you seem to me,  
And therewithal a man of brawn and bone.  
A person of some consequence you've grown.  
I pray that God confound the silly fool  
That put you first in a religious school. . . .

"But be not wroth, my lord, because I play;  
Full oft in jest have I heard truth, I say."

This worthy Monk took all with sober sense,  
And said: "I will do all my diligence,  
So far as it accords with decency,  
To tell to you a tale, or two, or three.  
And if you care to hear, come hitherward,  
And I'll repeat the life of Saint Edward;  
Or rather, first some tragedies I'll tell,  
Whereof I have a hundred in my cell.  
Tragedy is to say a certain story  
From ancient books which have preserved the glory  
Of one that stood in great prosperity  
And is now fallen out of high degree  
In misery, where he ends wretchedly.  
Such tales are versified most commonly  
In six feet, which men call hexameter.  
In prose are many written; some prefer  
A quantitative metre, sundry wise.  
Lo, this short prologue will enough suffice.

"Now hearken, if you'd like my speech to hear;  
But first I do beseech, let it be clear  
That I, in order, tell not all these things,  
Be it of popes, of emperors, or kings,  
Each in his place, as men in writings find,  
But I put some before and some behind,  
As they to memory may come by chance;  
Hold me excused, pray, of my ignorance."

*[Here follows The Monk's Tale, a ninety-seven-verse commentary upon the fall from greatness of Lucifer, Adam, Samson, Hercules,*

Geoffrey Chaucer

*Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Queen Zenobia of Palmyra, King Peter of Spain, King Peter of Cyprus, Bernardo Visconti of Lombardy, Count Ugolino of Pisa, Nero, Holofernes, King Antiochus, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and Croesus.]*

### *The Prologue to the Nun's Priest's Tale*

**H**OLD!" cried the Knight. "Good sir, no more of this,  
What you have said is right enough, and is  
Very much more; a little heaviness  
Is plenty for the most of us, I guess.  
For me, I say it's saddening, if you please,  
As to men who've enjoyed great wealth and ease,  
To hear about their sudden fall, alas!  
But the contrary's joy and great solace,  
As when a man has been in poor estate  
And he climbs up and waxes fortunate,  
And there abides in all prosperity.  
Such things are gladsome, as it seems to me,  
And of such things it would be good to tell."

"Yea," quoth our Host, "and by Saint Paul's great bell,  
You say the truth; this Monk, his clapper's loud.  
He spoke how 'Fortune covered with a cloud'  
I know not what, and of a 'tragedy,'  
As now you heard, and gad! no remedy  
It is to wail and wonder and complain  
That certain things have happened, and it's pain,  
As you have said, to hear of wretchedness.  
Sir Monk, no more of this, so God you bless!  
Your tale annoys the entire company;  
Such talking is not worth a butterfly;  
For in it is no sport nor any game.  
Wherefore, sir Monk, Don Peter by your name,  
I pray you heartily tell us something else,  
For truly, but for clinking of the bells  
That from your bridle hang on either side,  
By Heaven's king, Who for us all has died,  
I should, ere this, have fallen down for sleep,  
Although the mud had never been so deep;

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Then had your story all been told in vain.  
For certainly, as all these clerks complain,  
'Whenas a man has none for audience,  
It's little help to speak his evidence.'  
And well I know the substance is in me  
To judge of things that well reported be.  
Sir, tell a tale of hunting now, I pray."

"Nay," said this Monk, "I have no wish to play;  
Now let another tell, as I have told."

Then spoke our Host out, in rude speech and bold,  
And said he unto the Nun's Priest anon:  
"Come near, you priest, come hither, you Sir John,  
Tell us a thing to make our hearts all glad;  
Be blithe, although you ride upon a jade.  
What though your horse may be both foul and lean?  
If he but serves you, why, don't care a bean;  
Just see your heart is always merry. So."

"Yes, sir," said he, "yes, Host, so may I go,  
For, save I'm merry, I know I'll be blamed."

And right away his story has he framed,  
And thus he said unto us, every one,  
This dainty priest, this goodly man, Sir John.

*[The Nun's Priest's Tale is a playful fable concerning Chanticleer, his favorite hen Lady Pertelote, and Sir Russel Fox. First there is a husband-and-wife argument between Chanticleer and Pertelote over dreams and their meaning, marriage, the value of woman's counsel, predestination and free will. Then Sir Fox enters and flatters Chanticleer into crowing so hard he shuts his eyes, whereupon Fox seizes him and carries him off to the woods. But Chanticleer in turn flatters Fox into opening his mouth to reply, and thus escapes. Here, it is assumed, ends the second day.]*

### *The Physician's Tale*

THERE WAS, as tells us Titus Livius,  
A knight whose name was called Virginius,  
Fulfilled of honor and of worthiness,  
Who many friends and much wealth did possess.

This knight had had a daughter by his wife,  
Nor children more had he in all his life.  
Fair was this maid, in excellent beauty  
Above all others that a man may see;  
For Nature had, with sovereign diligence,  
Molded her to so great an excellence  
She seemed to say: "Behold now, I, Nature,  
Thus can I form and paint a creature pure  
When I desire. Who can it counterfeit?  
Pygmalion? Nay, not though he forge and beat. . . ."

This maid was fourteen years of age, this may  
In whom Dame Nature had so great delight.  
For just as she can paint a lily white  
Or redden rose, even with such a stroke  
She did this creature by her art evoke  
Ere she was born, painting her sweet limbs free  
In such true colors as they'd come to be;  
And Phoebus dyed her long hair with such gold  
As have his burning streamers manifold.  
But if right excellent was her beauty,  
A thousand-fold more virtuous was she.  
In her there lacked not one condition known  
That's praiseworthy when by discretion shown.  
As well in soul as body chaste was she;  
For which she flowered in virginity  
With all humility and abstinence,  
And with all temperance and with patience,  
And with a modest bearing and array.  
Discreet in her replies she was alway;  
Though she was wise as Pallas, and not vain,  
Her speech was always womanly and plain,  
No highfalutin pretty words had she  
To ape deep knowledge; after her degree  
She spoke, and all her words, greater and less,  
Tended to virtue and to gentleness.  
Modest she was, with maiden bashfulness,  
Constant of heart, and full of busyness. . . .

This maid, upon a day, went into town  
Unto a temple, with her mother dear,  
As the wont is of young maids everywhere.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Now there was then a justice in that town,  
Was governor of all the region known.  
And so befell, this judge his two eyes cast  
Upon this maid, noting her beauty fast,  
As she went by the place wherein he stood.  
Swiftly his heart was altered, and his mood,  
He was so caught by beauty of the maid,  
And to his own dark secret heart he said:  
"She shall be mine in spite of any man!"

Anon the Fiend into his bosom ran  
And taught him swiftly how, by treachery,  
The maiden to his purpose might win he.  
For truly not to bribery or force  
Would it avail, he thought, to have recourse,  
Since she had many friends, and was so good,  
So strong in virtue, that he never could  
By any subtle means her favor win  
And make her give her body unto sin.  
Therefore, and with great scheming up and down,  
He sent to find a fellow of the town,  
Which man, he knew, was cunning and was bold.  
And unto this man, when the judge had told  
His secret, then he made himself right sure  
That it should come to ears of no creature,  
For if it did the fellow'd lose his head.  
And when assent to this crime had been said,  
Glad was the judge, and then he made great cheer  
And gave the fellow precious gifts and dear.

When plotted out was their conspiracy,  
From point to point, how all his lechery  
Should have its will, performing craftily,  
As you shall hear it now told openly,  
Home went the churl, whose name was Claudius.  
This false judge, who was known as Appius  
(Such was his name, for this is no fable,  
But an historical event I tell,  
At least the gist is true, beyond a doubt)—  
This false judge goes now busily about  
To hasten his delight in all he may.  
And so befell soon after, on a day,



This false judge, as recounts the ancient story,  
As he was wont, sat in his auditory  
And gave his judgment upon every case.  
Forthwith the wicked churl advanced a pace,  
And said: "Your honor, if it be your will,  
Then give me justice prayed for in this bill  
Of my complaint against Virginus.  
And if he claim the matter stands not thus,  
I will so prove, by many a good witness,  
That truth is what my bill does here express."

The judge replied: "On this, in his absence,  
I may not give definitive sentence.  
Let him be called and I will gladly hear;  
You shall have all your right, and no wrong, here."

Virginus came to learn the judge's will,  
And then was read to him this wicked bill,  
The substance of it being as you shall hear.

"To you, Judge Appius, may it so appear  
That comes and says your servant Claudius,  
How that a knight, by name Virginus,  
Against the law, against all equity,  
Holds, expressly against the will of me,  
My servant who is slave to me by right,  
Who from my house was stolen, on a night,  
While yet she was but young; this will I prove,  
My lord, by witness competent thereof.  
She's not his child, whatever he may say;  
Wherefore to you, my lord the judge, I pray,  
Yield me my slave, if that it be your will."  
Lo, this was all the substance of his bill.

Virginus' eyes the churl's began to hold,  
But hastily, before his tale he'd told,  
Ready to prove it, as befits a knight,  
And by the evidence of many a wight,  
That false was this charge of his adversary.  
The wicked judge, he would no moment tarry,  
Nor hear a word more from Virginus,  
But gave his judgment then and there, as thus:  
"I do decree in favor of the churl:  
No longer shall you hold this servant girl.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Go bring her here and leave her as my ward.  
This man shall have his slave, as my award."

And when this noble knight Virginius,  
By judgment of this Justice Appius,  
Must now, perforce, his darling daughter give  
Unto the judge, in lechery to live,  
He did go home and sat down in his hall,  
And gave command his daughter there to call;  
And, with a face dead white and ashen cold,  
Her modest mien his eyes did then behold,  
With father's pity striking through his heart,  
Though from his purpose he would not depart.

"Daughter," said he, "Virginia by your name,  
There are two ways, for either death or shame  
You now must suffer. Ah, that I was born!  
For you have not deserved to be thus lorn,  
To die by means of sword or any knife.  
O my dear daughter, ender of my life,  
Whom I have bred up with so deep pleasance  
That you were never from my remembrance!  
O daughter who are now my final woe,  
Aye, and in life my final joy also,  
O gem of chastity, in brave patience  
Receive your death, for that is my sentence.  
For love and not for hate you must be dead;  
My pitying hand must strike your innocent head. . . .

"O mercy, my dear father," said this maid,  
And with that word both of her arms she laid  
About his neck, as she was wont to do;  
Then broke the bitter tears from her eyes two.  
She said: "O my good father, must I die?  
Is there no grace? Is there no remedy?"

"No, truly, darling daughter mine," said he.

"Then give me leisure, father mine," quoth she,  
"But to lament my death a little space. . . ."

And with that word she fell into a swoon,  
And after, when the faint was past and gone,  
She rose up and unto her father said:

"Praise be to God that I shall die a maid.  
Give me my death before I come to shame;

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

Do with your child your will, and in God's name!"

And then she prayed him, as he was expert,  
He'd strike her swiftly, lest the blow should hurt,  
Whereon again a-swooning down she fell.  
Her father, with a heavy heart and will,  
Struck off her head, and bore it by the hair  
Straight to the judge and did present it there  
While yet he sat on bench in auditory.  
And when the judge saw this, so says the story,  
He bade them take him out and swiftly hang.  
But then a thousand people rose and sprang  
To save the knight, for ruth and for pity,  
For known was now the false iniquity.  
The people had suspected some such thing,  
By the churl's manner in his challenging,  
That it was done to please this Appius;  
They knew right well that he was lecherous.  
Wherefore they ran this Appius upon  
And cast him into prison cell anon,  
Wherein he slew himself; and Claudius,  
Who had been creature of this Appius,  
Was sentenced to be hanged upon a tree;  
But then Virginius, of his great pity,  
So pleaded for him that he was exiled,  
For, after all, the judge had him beguiled.  
The rest were hanged, the greater and the less,  
Who had been parties to this wickedness.

Here may men see how sin has its desert!  
Beware, for no man knows whom God will hurt,  
Nor how profoundly, no, nor in what wise  
The hidden worm of conscience terrifies  
The wicked soul, though secret its deeds be  
And no one knows thereof but God and he.  
For be he ignorant or learned, yet  
He cannot know when fear will make him sweat.  
Therefore I counsel you, this counsel take:  
Forsake your sin ere sin shall you forsake.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

### *The Words of the Host to the Physician and the Pardoner*

OUR HOST BEGAN TO SWEAR as madman would:  
“Halloo!” he cried, “now by the Nails and Blood!  
This was a false churl and a false justice!  
As shameful death as thinking may devise  
Come to such judge who such a helper has!  
And so this luckless maid is slain, alas!  
Alas, too dearly paid she for beauty!  
Wherefore I always say, as men may see,  
That Fortune’s gifts, or those of Dame Nature,  
Are cause of death to many a good creature.  
Her beauty was her death, I say again;  
Alas, so pitiably she there was slain! . . .

“Said I not well? I can’t speak in set terms;  
But well I know my heart with grief so warms  
That almost I have caught a cardiac pain.  
Body and Bones! Save I some remedy gain,  
Or else a draught of fresh-drawn, malty ale,  
Or save I hear, anon, a merry tale,  
My heart is lost for pity of this maid.  
You, *bon ami*, you Pardoner,” he said,  
“Tell us some pleasant tale or jest, anon.”

“It shall be done,” said he, “by Saint Ronan!  
But first,” he said, “just here, at this ale-stake,  
I will both drink and eat a bite of cake.”

But then these gentle folk began to cry:  
Nay, let him tell us naught of ribaldry;  
Tell us some moral thing, that we may hear  
Wisdom, and then we gladly will give ear.”

“I grant it, aye,” said he, “but I must think  
Upon some seemly tale the while I drink.”

*The Prologue of the Pardoner's Tale*

**M**ASTERS," quoth he, "in churches, when I preach,  
I am at pains that all shall hear my speech,  
And ring it out as roundly as a bell,  
For I know all by heart the thing I tell.  
My theme is always one, and ever was:  
'*Radix malorum est cupiditas.*' \*

"First I announce the place whence I have come,  
And then I show my pardons, all and some.  
Our liege-lord's seal on my patent perfect,  
I show that first, my safety to protect,  
And then no man's so bold, no priest nor clerk,  
As to disturb me in Christ's holy work. . . .  
Then show I forth my hollow crystal-stones,  
Which are crammed full of rags, aye, and of bones;  
Relics are these, as they think, every one.  
Then I've in latten box a shoulder bone  
Which came out of holy Hebrew's sheep.  
'Good men,' say I, 'my words in memory keep;  
If this bone shall be washed in any well,  
Then if a cow, calf, sheep, or ox should swell  
That's eaten snake, or been by serpent stung,  
Take water of that well and wash its tongue,  
And 'twill be well anon; and furthermore,  
Of pox and scab and every other sore  
Shall every sheep be healed that of this well  
Drinks but one draught; take heed of what I tell.

" 'Here is a mitten, too, that you may see.  
Who puts his hand therein,' I say again,  
'He shall have increased harvest of his grain,  
After he's sown, be it of wheat or oats,  
Just so he offers pence or offers groats.

" 'Good men and women, one thing I warn you,  
If any man be here in church right now  
That's done a sin so horrible that he  
Dare not, for shame, of that sin shriven be,

\* The root of evil is greed.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Such folk shall have no power and no grace  
To offer to my relics in this place.  
But whoso finds himself without such blame,  
He will come up and offer, in God's name,  
And I'll absolve him by authority  
That has, by bull, been granted unto me.'

"By this fraud have I won me, year by year,  
A hundred marks, since I've been pardoner.  
I stand up like a scholar in pulpit,  
And when the ignorant people all do sit,  
I preach, as you have heard me say before,  
And tell a hundred false japes, less or more.  
I am at pains, then, to stretch forth my neck,  
And east and west upon the folk I beck,  
As does a dove that's sitting on a barn.  
With hands and swift tongue, then, do I so yarn  
That it's a joy to see my busyness.  
Of avarice and of all such wickedness  
Is all my preaching, thus to make them free  
With offered pence, the which pence come to me.  
For my intent is only pence to win,  
And not at all for punishment of sin.  
When they are dead, for all I think thereon  
Their souls may well black-berrying have gone! . . .

"But briefly my intention I'll express;  
I preach no sermon, save for covetousness.  
For that my theme is yet, and ever was,  
'*Radix malorum est cupiditas.*'  
Thus can I preach against that self-same vice  
Which I indulge, and that is avarice.  
But though myself be guilty of that sin,  
Yet can I cause these other folk to win  
From avarice and really to repent.  
But that is not my principal intent.  
I preach no sermon, save for covetousness;  
This should suffice of that, though, as I guess.  
"Then do I cite examples, many a one,  
Out of old stories and of time long gone,  
For vulgar people all love stories old;  
Such things they can re-tell well and can hold.

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

What? Think you that because I'm good at preaching  
And win me gold and silver by my teaching  
I'll live of my free will in poverty?  
No, no, that's never been my policy!  
For I will preach and beg in sundry lands;  
I will not work and labor with my hands,  
Nor baskets weave and try to live thereby,  
Because I will not beg in vain, say I.  
I will none of the apostles counterfeit;  
I will have money, wool, and cheese, and wheat,  
Though it be given by the poorest page,  
Or by the poorest widow in village,  
And though her children perish of famine.  
Nay! I will drink good liquor of the vine  
And have a pretty wench in every town.  
But hearken, masters, to conclusion shown:  
Your wish is that I tell you all a tale.  
Now that I've drunk a draught of musty ale,  
By God, I hope that I can tell something  
That shall, in reason, be to your liking.  
For though I am myself a vicious man,  
Yet I would tell a moral tale, and can,  
The which I'm wont to preach more gold to win.  
Now hold your peace! my tale I will begin."

*The Pardoner's Tale*

**I**N FLANDERS, once, there was a company  
Of young companions given to folly,  
Riot and gambling, brothels and taverns;  
And, to the music of harps, lutes, gittens,  
They danced and played at dice both day and night,  
And ate also and drank beyond their might,  
Whereby they made the devil's sacrifice  
Within that devil's temple, wicked wise,  
By superfluity both vile and vain.  
So damnable their oaths and so profane  
That it was terrible to hear them swear;  
Our Blessed Savior's Body did they tear;

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

They thought the Jews had rent Him not enough;  
And each of them at others' sins would laugh. . . .

O gluttony, full of all wickedness,  
O first cause of confusion to us all,  
Beginning of damnation and our fall,  
Till Christ redeemed us with His blood again!  
Behold how dearly, to be brief and plain,  
Was purchased this accursed villainy;  
Corrupt was all this world with gluttony!

Adam our father, and his wife also,  
From Paradise to labor and to woe  
Were driven for that vice, no doubt; indeed  
The while that Adam fasted, as I read,  
He was in Paradise; but then when he  
Ate of the fruit forbidden of the tree,  
Anon he was cast out to woe and pain.  
O gluttony, of you we may complain!  
Oh, knew a man how many maladies  
Follow on excess and on gluttonies,  
Surely he would be then more moderate  
In diet, and at table more sedate. . . .

A lecherous thing is wine, and drunkenness  
Is full of striving and of wretchedness.  
O drunken man, disfigured is your face,  
Sour is your breath, foul are you to embrace,  
And through your drunken nose there comes a sound  
As if you snored out "Samson, Samson" round;  
And yet God knows that Samson drank no wine.  
You fall down just as if you were stuck swine;  
Your tongue is loose, your honest care obscure;  
For drunkenness is very sepulture  
Of any mind a man may chance to own.  
In whom strong drink has domination shown  
He can no counsel keep for any dread.  
Now keep you from the white and from the red. . . .

And now that I have told of gluttony,  
I'll take up gambling, showing you thereby  
The curse of chance, and all its evils treat;  
From it proceeds false swearing and deceit,  
Blaspheming, murder, and—what's more—the waste



Of time and money; add to which, debased  
And shamed and lost to honor quite is he,  
Who once a common gambler's known to be.  
And ever the higher one is of estate,  
The more he's held disgraced and desolate.  
And if a prince plays similar hazardry  
In all his government and policy,  
He loses in the estimate of men  
His good repute, and finds it not again. . . .

Now will I speak of oaths both false and great  
A word or two, whereof the old books treat.  
Great swearing is a thing abominable,  
And vain oaths yet more reprehensible.  
The High God did forbid swearing at all,  
As witness Matthew; but in especial  
Of swearing says the holy Jeremiah,  
"Thou shalt not swear in vain, to be a liar,  
But swear in judgment and in righteousness";  
But idle swearing is a wickedness.  
Behold, in the first table of the Law,  
That should be honored as High God's, sans flaw,  
This second one of His commandments plain:  
"Thou shalt not take the Lord God's name in vain."

"By God's own precious heart, and by His nails,  
And by the blood of Christ that's now at Hales,  
Seven is my chance and yours is five and trey!"

"By God's good arms, if you do falsely play,  
This dagger through your heart I'll stick for you!"  
Such is the whelping of the bitched bones two:  
Perjury, anger, cheating, homicide.  
Now for the love of Christ, Who for us died,  
Forgo this swearing oaths, both great and small;  
But, sirs, now will I tell to you my tale.

Now these three roisterers, whereof I tell,  
Long before prime was rung by any bell,  
Were sitting in a tavern for to drink;  
And as they sat they heard a small bell clink  
Before a corpse being carried to his grave;  
Whereat one of them called unto his knave:  
"Go run," said he, "and ask them civilly

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

What corpse it is that's just now passing by,  
And see that you report the man's name well."

"Sir," said the boy, "it needs not that they tell.  
I learned it, ere you came here, full two hours;  
He was, by gad, an old comrade of yours;  
And he was slain, all suddenly, last night,  
When drunk, as he sat on his bench upright;  
An unseen thief, called Death, came stalking by,  
Who hereabouts makes all the people die,  
And with his spear he clove his heart in two  
And went his way and made no more ado.  
He's slain a thousand with this pestilence;  
And, master, ere you come in his presence,  
It seems to me to be right necessary  
To be forewarned of such an adversary:  
Be ready to meet him for evermore.  
My mother taught me this, I say no more."

"By holy Mary," said the innkeeper,  
"The boy speaks truth, for Death has slain, this year,  
A mile or more hence, in a large village,  
Both man and woman, child and hind and page.  
I think his habitation must be there;  
To be advised of him great wisdom 'twere,  
Before he did a man some dishonor."

"Yea, by God's arms!" exclaimed this roisterer,  
"Is it such peril, then, this Death to meet?  
I'll seek him in the road and in the street,  
As I now vow to God's own noble bones!  
Hear, comrades, we're of one mind, as each owns;  
Let each of us hold up his hand to other  
And each of us become the other's brother,  
And we three will go slay this traitor Death;  
He shall be slain who's stopped so many a breath,  
By God's great dignity, ere it be night."

Together did these three their pledges plight  
To live and die, each of them for the other,  
As if he were his very own blood brother.  
And up they started, drunken, in this rage,  
And forth they went, and towards that village  
Whereof the innkeeper had told before.

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

And so, with many a grisly oath, they swore  
And Jesus' blessed body once more rent—  
"Death shall be dead if we find where he went."

When they had gone not fully half a mile,  
Just as they would have trodden over a stile,  
An old man, and a poor, with them did meet.  
This ancient man full meekly them did greet,  
And said thus: "Now, lords, God keep you and see!"

The one that was most insolent of these three  
Replied to him: "What? Churl of evil grace,  
Why are you all wrapped up, except your face?  
Why do you live so long in so great age?"

This ancient man looked upon his visage  
And thus replied: "Because I cannot find  
A man, nay, though I walked from here to Ind,  
Either in town or country who'll engage  
To give his youth in barter for my age;  
And therefore must I keep my old age still,  
As long a time as it shall be God's will.  
Not even Death, alas! my life will take;  
Thus restless I my wretched way must make,  
And on the ground, which is my mother's gate,  
I knock with my staff early, aye, and late,  
And cry: 'O my dear mother, let me in!  
Lo, how I'm wasted, flesh and blood and skin!' . . .

"But, sirs, in you it is no courtesy  
To speak to an old man despitefully,  
Unless in word he trespass or in deed.  
In holy writ you may, yourselves, well read  
'Before an old man, hoar upon the head,  
You should arise.' Which I advise you read,  
Nor to an old man any injury do  
More than you would that men should do to you  
In age, if you so long time shall abide;  
And God be with you, whether you walk or ride.  
I must pass on now where I have to go."

"Nay, ancient churl, by God it sha'n't be so,"  
Cried out this other hazarder, anon;  
"You sha'n't depart so easily, by Saint John!  
You spoke just now of that same traitor Death,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Who in this country stops our good friends' breath.  
Hear my true word, since you are his own spy,  
Tell where he is or you shall rue it, aye  
By God and by the holy Sacrament!  
Indeed you must be, with this Death, intent  
To slay all us young people, you false thief."

"Now, sirs," said he, "if you're so keen, in brief,  
To find out Death, turn up this crooked way,  
For in that grove I left him, by my fay,  
Under a tree, and there he will abide;  
Nor for your boasts will he a moment hide.  
See you that oak? Right there you shall him find.  
God save you, Who redeemed all humankind,  
And mend your ways!"—thus said this ancient man.

And every one of these three roisterers ran  
Till he came to that tree; and there they found,  
Of florins of fine gold, new-minted, round,  
Well-nigh eight bushels full, or so they thought.  
No longer, then, after this Death they sought,  
But each of them so glad was of that sight,  
Because the florins were so fair and bright,  
That down they all sat by this precious hoard.  
The worst of them was first to speak a word.

"Brothers," said he, "take heed to what I say;  
My wits are keen, although I mock and play.  
This treasure here Fortune to us has given  
That mirth and jollity our lives may liven,  
And easily as it's come, so will we spend.  
Eh! By God's precious dignity! Who'd pretend,  
Today, that we should have so fair a grace?  
But might this gold be carried from this place  
Home to my house, or if you will, to yours—  
For well we know that all this gold is ours—  
Then were we all in high felicity.  
But certainly by day this may not be;  
For men would say that we were robbers strong,  
And we'd, for our own treasure, hang ere long.  
This treasure must be carried home by night  
All prudently and slyly, out of sight.  
So I propose that cuts among us all

Be drawn, and let's see where the cut will fall;  
And he that gets the short cut, blithe of heart  
Shall run to town at once, and to the mart,  
And fetch us bread and wine here, privately.  
And two of us shall guard, right cunningly,  
This treasure well; and if he does not tarry,  
When it is night we'll all the treasure carry  
Where, by agreement, we may think it best."

That one of them the cuts brought in his fist  
And bade them draw to see where it might fall;  
And it fell on the youngest of them all;  
And so, forth toward the town he went anon.  
And just as soon as he had turned and gone,  
That one of them spoke thus unto the other:

"You know well that you are my own sworn brother,  
So to your profit I will speak anon.  
You know well how our comrade is just gone;  
And here is gold, and that in great plenty,  
That's to be parted here among us three.  
Nevertheless, if I can shape it so  
That it be parted only by us two,  
Shall I not do a turn that is friendly?"

The other said: "Well, now, how can that be?  
He knows well that the gold is with us two.  
What shall we say to him? What shall we do?"

"Shall it be secret?" asked the first rogue, then,  
"And I will tell you in eight words, or ten,  
What we must do, and how bring it about."

"Agreed," replied the other, "Never doubt,  
That, on my word, I nothing will betray."

"Now," said the first, "we're two, and I dare say  
The two of us are stronger than is one.  
Watch when he sits, and soon as that is done  
Arise and make as if with him to play;  
And I will thrust him through the two sides, yea,  
The while you romp with him as in a game,  
And with your dagger see you do the same;  
And then shall all this gold divided be,  
My right dear friend, just between you and me;  
Then may we both our every wish fulfill

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And play at dice all at our own sweet will."  
And thus agreed were these two rogues, that day  
To slay the third, as you have heard me say.

This youngest rogue who'd gone into the town,  
Often in fancy rolled he up and down  
The beauty of those florins new and bright.  
"O Lord," thought he, "if so be that I might  
Have all this treasure to myself alone,  
There is no man who lives beneath the throne  
Of God that should be then so merry as I."

And at the last the Fiend, our enemy,  
Put in his thought that he should poison buy  
With which he might kill both his fellows; aye,  
The Devil found him in such wicked state,  
He had full leave his grief to consummate;  
For it was utterly the man's intent  
To kill them both and never to repent.  
And on he strode, no longer would he tarry,  
Into the town, to an apothecary,  
And prayed of him that he'd prepare and sell  
Some poison for his rats, and some as well  
For a polecat that in his yard had lain,  
The which, he said, his capons there had slain,  
And fain he was to rid him, if he might,  
Of vermin that thus damaged him by night.

The apothecary said: "And you shall have  
A thing of which, so God my spirit save,  
In all this world there is no live creature  
That's eaten or has drunk of this mixture  
As much as equals but a grain of wheat,  
That shall not sudden death thereafter meet;  
Yea, die he shall, and in a shorter while  
Than you require to walk but one short mile;  
This poison is so violent and strong."

This wicked man the poison took along  
With him boxed up, and then he straightway ran  
Into the street adjoining, to a man,  
And of him borrowed generous bottles three;  
And into two his poison then poured he;  
The third one he kept clean for his own drink.

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

For all that night he was resolved to swink  
In carrying the florins from that place.  
And when this roisterer, with evil grace,  
Had filled with wine his mighty bottles three,  
Then to his comrades forth again went he.

What is the need to tell about it more?  
For just as they had planned his death before,  
Just so they murdered him, and that anon.  
And when the thing was done, then spoke the one:  
“Now let us sit and drink and so be merry,  
And afterward we will his body bury.”

And as he spoke, one bottle of the three  
He took wherein the poison chanced to be  
And drank and gave his comrade drink also,  
For which, and that anon, lay dead these two. . . .  
Thus ended these two homicides in woe;  
Died thus the treacherous poisoner also.

O cursed sin, full of abominableness!  
O treacherous homicide! O wickedness!  
O gluttony, lechery, and hazardry!  
O blasphemer of Christ with villainy,  
And with great oaths, habitual for pride!  
Alas! Mankind, how may this thing betide  
That to thy dear Creator, Who thee wrought,  
And with His precious blood salvation bought,  
Thou art so false and so unkind, alas!

Now, good men, God forgive you each trespass,  
And keep you from the sin of avarice.  
My holy pardon cures and will suffice,  
So that it brings me gold, or silver brings,  
Or else, I care not—brooches, spoons or rings.  
Bow down your heads before this holy bull!  
Come up, you wives, and offer of your wool!  
Your names I'll enter on my roll, anon,  
And into Heaven's bliss you'll go, each one.  
For I'll absolve you, by my special power,  
You that make offering, as clean this hour  
As you were born.

And lo, sirs, thus I preach.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And Jesus Christ, who is our souls' great leech,  
So grant you each his pardon to receive;  
For that is best; I will not you deceive.

But, sirs, one word forgot I in my tale;  
I've relics in my pouch that cannot fail,  
As good as England ever saw, I hope,  
The which I got by kindness of the pope.  
If gifts your change of heart and mind reveal,  
You'll get my absolution while you kneel.  
Come forth, and kneel down here before, anon,  
And humbly you'll receive my full pardon;  
Or else receive a pardon as you wend,  
All new and fresh as every mile shall end,  
So that you offer me each time, anew,  
More gold and silver, all good coins and true.  
It is an honor to each one that's here  
That you may have a competent pardoner  
To give you absolution as you ride,  
For all adventures that may still betide.  
Perchance from horse may fall down one or two,  
Breaking his neck, and it might well be you.  
See what insurance, then, it is for all  
That I within your fellowship did fall,  
Who may absolve you, both the great and less,  
When soul from body passes, as I guess.  
I think our Host might just as well begin,  
For he is most enveloped in all sin.  
Come forth, sir Host, and offer first anon,  
And you shall kiss the relics, every one,  
Aye, for a groat! Unbuckle now your purse."

"Nay, nay," said he, "then may I have Christ's  
curse!". . .

This Pardoner, he answered not a word;  
So wrathful was he no word would he say.

"Now," said our Host, "I will no longer play  
With you, nor any other angry man."

But at this point the worthy Knight began,  
When that he saw how all the folk did laugh:  
"No more of this, for it's gone far enough;  
Sir Pardoner, be glad and merry here;



And you, sir Host, who are to me so dear,  
I pray you that you kiss the Pardoner.  
And, Pardoner, I pray you to draw near,  
And as we did before, let's laugh and play."  
And then they kissed and rode forth on their way.

*The Wife of Bath's Prologue*

EXPERIENCE, though no authority  
Were in this world, were good enough for me  
To speak of woe that is in all marriage;  
For, masters, since I was twelve years of age,  
Thanks be to God Who is for aye alive,  
Of husbands at church door have I had five;  
For men so many times have wedded me;  
And all were worthy men in their degree.  
But someone told me not so long ago  
That since Our Lord, save once, would never go  
To wedding (that at Cana in Galilee),  
Thus, by this same example, showed He me  
I never should have married more than once.  
Lo and behold! What sharp words, for the nonce,  
Beside a well Lord Jesus, God and man,  
Spoke in reproving the Samaritan:  
'For thou hast had five husbands,' thus said He,  
'And he whom thou hast now to be with thee  
Is not thine husband.' Thus He said that day,  
But what He meant thereby I cannot say. . . .

But well I know and say, and do not lie,  
God bade us to increase and multiply;  
That worthy text can I well understand.  
And well I know He said, too, my husband  
Should father leave, and mother, and cleave to me;  
But no specific number mentioned He,  
Whether of bigamy or octogamy;  
Why should men speak of it reproachfully?  
Praise be to God that I have wedded five!  
Welcome the sixth whenever come he shall.  
Forsooth, I'll not keep chaste for good and all;

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

When my good husband from the world is gone,  
Some Christian man shall marry me anon;  
For then, the Apostle says that I am free  
To wed, in God's name, where it pleases me.  
He says that to be wedded is no sin;  
Better to marry than to burn within. . . .

"I grant this well, I have no great envy  
Though maidenhood's perferred to bigamy;  
Let those who will be clean, body and ghost,  
Of my condition I will make no boast.  
For well you know, a lord in his household,  
He has not every vessel all of gold;  
Some are of wood and serve well all their days.  
God calls folk unto Him in sundry ways,  
And each one has from God a proper gift,  
Some this, some that, as pleases Him to shift.

"Virginity is great perfection known,  
And continence e'en with devotion shown.  
But Christ, Who of perfection is the well,  
Bade not each separate man he should go sell  
All that he had and give it to the poor  
And follow Him in such wise going before.  
He spoke to those that would live perfectly;  
And, masters, by your leave, such am not I.  
I will devote the flower of all my age  
To all the acts and harvests of marriage. . . .

Up rose the Pardoner, and that anon.  
"Now dame," said he, "by God and by Saint John,  
You are a noble preacher in this case!  
I was about to wed a wife, alas!  
Why should I buy this on my flesh so dear?  
No, I would rather wed no wife this year."

"But wait," said she, "my tale is not begun;  
Nay, you shall drink from out another tun  
Before I cease, and savor worse than ale.  
And when I shall have told you all my tale  
Of tribulation that is in marriage,  
Whereof I've been an expert all my age,  
That is to say, myself have been the whip,  
Then may you choose whether you will go sip

Out of that very tun which I shall broach.  
Beware of it ere you too near approach;  
For I shall give examples more than ten.  
Whoso will not be warned by other men  
By him shall other men corrected be.  
The self-same words has written Ptolemy;  
Read in his *Almagest* and find it there."

"Lady, I pray you, if your will it were,"  
Spoke up this Pardoner, "as you began,  
Tell forth your tale, nor spare for any man,  
And teach us younger men of your technique."  
"Gladly," said she, "since it may please, not pique.

But yet I pray of all this company  
That if I speak from my own fantasy,  
They will not take amiss the things I say;  
For my intention's only but to play.

"Now, sirs, now will I tell you forth my tale.  
And as I may drink ever wine and ale,  
I will tell truth of husbands that I've had,  
For three of them were good and two were bad. . . .  
I governed them so well, by my own law,  
That each of them was happy as a daw,  
And fain to bring me fine things from the fair.  
And they were right glad when I spoke them fair;  
For God knows that I nagged them mercilessly.

"Now hearken how I bore me properly,  
All you wise wives that well can understand.

"Thus shall you speak and wrongfully demand;  
For half so brazenfacedly can no man  
Swear to his lying as a woman can.  
I say not this to wives who may be wise,  
Except when they themselves do misadvise.  
A wise wife, if she knows what's for her good,  
Will swear the crow is mad, and in this mood  
Call up for witness to it her own maid;  
But hear me now, for this is what I said.

" 'Sir Dotard, is it thus you stand today?  
Why is my neighbor's wife so fine and gay?  
She's honored over all where'er she goes;  
I sit at home, I have no decent clo'es.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

What do you do there at my neighbor's house?  
Is she so fair? Are you so amorous?  
Why whisper to our maid? *Benedicite!*  
Sir Lecher old, let your seductions be!  
And if I have a gossip or a friend,  
Innocently, you blame me like a fiend  
If I but walk, for company, to his house!  
You come home here as drunken as a mouse,  
And preach there on your bench, a curse on you!  
You tell me it's a great misfortune, too,  
To wed a girl who costs more than she's worth;  
And if she's rich and of a higher birth,  
You say it's torment to abide her folly  
And put up with her pride and melancholy.  
And if she be right fair, you utter knave,  
You say that every lecher will her have;  
She may no while in chastity abide  
That is assailed by all and on each side.

“ ‘You say, some men desire us for our gold,  
Some for our shape and some for fairness told;  
And some, that she can either sing or dance,  
And some, for courtesy and dalliance;  
Some for her hands and for her arms so small;  
Thus all goes to the devil in your tale.  
You say men cannot keep a castle wall  
That's long assailed on all sides, and by all.

“ ‘And if that she be foul, you say that she  
Hankers for every man that she may see. . . .

“ ‘You say that dripping eaves, and also smoke,  
And wives contentious, will make men to flee  
Out of their houses; ah, *benedicite!*  
What ails such an old fellow so to chide?

“ ‘You say that all we wives our vices hide  
Till we are married, then we show them well;  
That is a scoundrel's proverb, let me tell! . . .

“ ‘You say also that it displeases me  
Unless you praise and flatter my beauty,  
And save you gaze always upon my face  
And call me “lovely lady” every place;  
And save you make a feast upon that day

When I was born, and give me garments gay;  
And save due honor to my nurse is paid  
As well as to my faithful chambermaid,  
And to my father's folk and his allies—  
Thus you go on, old barrel full of lies! . . .  
I think you'd like to lock me in your chest!  
You should say: "Dear wife, go where you like best.  
Amuse yourself, I will believe no tales;  
You're my wife Alis true, and truth prevails."  
We love no man that guards us or gives charge  
Of where we go, for we will be at large.

"Of all men the most blessed may he be,  
That wise astrologer, Dan Ptolemy,  
Who says this proverb in his *Almagest*:  
"Of all men he's in wisdom the highest  
That nothing cares who has the world in hand."  
And by this proverb shall you understand:  
Since you've enough, why do you reck or care  
How merrily all other folks may fare? . . .  
He is too much a niggard who's so tight  
That from his lantern he'll give none a light.  
For he'll have never the less light, by gad;  
Since you've enough, you need not be so sad.

"You say, also, that if we make us gay  
With clothing, all in costliest array,  
That it's a danger to our chastity;  
And you must back the saying up, pardie!  
Repeating these words in the apostle's name:  
"In habits meet for chastity, not shame,  
Your women shall be garmented," said he,  
"And not with brodered hair, or jewelry,  
Or pearls, or gold, or costly gowns and chic";  
After your text and after your rubric  
I will not follow more than would a gnat.' . . .

"Masters, like this, as you must understand,  
Did I my old men charge and censure, and  
Claim that they said these things in drunkenness;  
And all was false, but yet I took witness  
Of Jenkin and of my dear niece also.  
O Lord, the pain I gave them and the woe,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

All guiltless, too, by God's grief exquisite!  
For like a stallion could I neigh and bite.  
I could complain, though mine was all the guilt,  
Or else, full many a time, I'd lost the tilt.  
Whoso comes first to mill first gets meal ground;  
I whimpered first and so did them confound.  
They were right glad to hasten to excuse  
Things they had never done, save in my ruse.

"With wenches would I charge him, by this hand,  
When, for some illness, he could hardly stand.  
Yet tickled this the heart of him, for he  
Deemed it was love produced such jealousy. . . .  
And under cover of that I had much mirth.  
For all such wit is given us at birth;  
Deceit, weeping, and spinning, does God give  
To women, naturally, the while they live.  
And thus of one thing I speak boastfully,  
I got the best of each one, finally,  
By trick, or force, or by some kind of thing,  
As by continual growls or murmuring. . . .  
So help me the True God Omnipotent,  
Though I right now should make my testament,  
I owe them not a word that was not quit.  
I brought it so about, and by my wit,  
That they must give it up, as for the best,  
Or otherwise we'd never have had rest.  
For though he glared and scowled like lion mad,  
Yet failed he of the end he wished he had.

"Then would I say: 'Good dearie, see you keep  
In mind how meek is Wilkin, our old sheep;  
Come near, my spouse, come let me kiss your cheek!  
You should be always patient, aye, and meek,  
And have a sweetly scrupulous tenderness,  
Since you so preach of old Job's patience, yes.  
Suffer always, since you so well can preach;  
And, save you do, be sure that we will teach  
That it is well to leave a wife in peace.  
One of us two must bow, to be at ease;  
And since a man's more reasonable, they say,  
Than woman is, you must have patience aye. . . .

But yet to be right merry I'll try, and  
Now will I tell you of my fourth husband. . . .  
By God, on earth I was his purgatory,  
For which I hope his soul now lives in glory.  
For God knows, many a time he sat and sung  
When the shoe bitterly his foot had wrung.  
There was no one, save God and he, that knew  
How, in so many ways, I'd twist the screw.  
He died when I came from Jerusalem,  
And lies entombed beneath the great rood-beam, . . .  
Let him fare well. God give his soul good rest  
He now is in the grave and in his chest.

“And now of my fifth husband will I tell.  
God grant his soul may never get to Hell!  
And yet he was to me most brutal, too;  
My ribs yet feel as they were black and blue. . . .  
I guess I loved him best of all, for he  
Gave of his love most sparingly to me.  
We women have, if I am not to lie,  
In this love matter, a quaint fantasy;  
Look out a thing we may not lightly have,  
And after that we'll cry all day and crave.  
Forbid a thing, and that thing covet we;  
Press hard upon us, then we turn and flee. . . .

“My fifth husband, may God his spirit bless!  
Whom I took all for love, and not riches,  
Had been sometime a student at Oxford,  
And had left school and had come home to board  
With my best gossip, dwelling in our town,  
God save her soul! Her name was Alison.  
She knew my heart and all my privy  
Better than did our parish priest, s'help me!

“So it befell that on a time, in Lent  
(For oftentimes I to my gossip went,  
Since I loved always to be glad and gay  
And to walk out, in March, April, and May,  
From house to house, to hear the latest malice),  
Jenkin the clerk, and my gossip Dame Alis,  
And I myself into the meadows went.  
My husband was in London all that Lent;

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

I had the greater leisure, then, to play,  
And to observe, and to be seen, I say,  
By pleasant folk; what knew I where my face  
Was destined to be loved, or in what place?  
Therefore I made my visits round about  
To vigils and processions of devout,  
To preaching too, and shrines of pilgrimage,  
To miracle plays, and always to each marriage,  
And wore my scarlet skirt before all wights.  
These worms and all these moths and all these mites,  
I say it at my peril, never ate;  
And know you why? I wore it early and late.

“Now will I tell you what befell to me.

I say that in the meadows walked we three  
Till, truly, we had come to such dalliance,  
This clerk and I, that, of my vigilance,  
I spoke to him and told him how that he,  
Were I a widow, might well marry me.  
For certainly I say it not to brag,  
But I was never quite without a bag  
Full of the needs of marriage that I seek.  
I hold a mouse's heart not worth a leek  
That has but one hole into which to run,  
And if it fail of that, then all is done.

“I made him think he had enchanted me;  
My mother taught me all that subtlety.  
And then I said I'd dreamed of him all night,  
He would have slain me as I lay upright,  
And all my bed was full of very blood;  
But yet I hoped that he would do me good,  
For blood betokens gold, as I was taught.  
And all was false, I dreamed of him just—naught,  
Save as I acted on my mother's lore,  
As well in this thing as in many more.

“But now, let's see, what was I going to say?  
Aha, by God, I know! It goes this way.

“When my fourth husband lay upon his bier,  
I wept enough and made but sorry cheer,  
As wives must always, for it's custom's grace,  
And with my kerchief covered up my face;



But since I was provided with a mate,  
I really wept but little, I may state.

“To church my man was borne upon the morrow  
By neighbors, who for him made signs of sorrow;  
And Jenkin, our good clerk, was one of them.  
So help me God, when rang the requiem  
After the bier, I thought he had a pair  
Of legs and feet so clean-cut and so fair  
That all my heart I gave to him to hold.  
He was, I think, but twenty winters old,  
And I was forty, if I tell the truth;  
But then I always had a young colt’s tooth.  
Gap-toothed I was, and that became me well;  
I had the print of holy Venus’ seal.  
So help me God, I was a healthy one,  
And fair and rich and young and full of fun. . . .

“What should I say now, save, at the month’s end  
This jolly, gentle, Jenkin clerk, my friend,  
Had wedded me full ceremoniously,  
And to him gave I all the land in fee  
That ever had been given me before;  
But later I repented me full sore.  
He never suffered me to have my way  
By God, he smote me on the ear, one day,  
Because I tore out of his book a leaf,  
So that from this my ear is grown quite deaf.  
Stubborn I was as is a lioness,  
And with my tongue a very jay, I guess,  
And walk I would, as I had done before,  
From house to house, though I should not, he swore.  
For which he oftentimes would sit and preach  
And read old Roman tales to me and teach  
How one Sulpicius Gallus left his wife  
And her forsook for term of all his life  
Because he saw her with bared head, I say,  
Looking out from his door, upon a day.

“Another Roman told he of by name  
Who, since his wife was at a summer-game  
Without his knowing, he forsook her eke.  
And then would he within his Bible seek

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

That proverb of the old Ecclesiast  
Where he commands so freely and so fast  
That man forbid his wife to gad about;  
Then would he thus repeat, with never doubt:  
    *'Whoso would build his whole house out of fallows,  
    And spur his blind horse to run over fallows,  
    And let his wife alone go seeking hallows,  
    If worthy to be hanged upon the gallows.'*

But all for naught, I didn't care a haw  
For all his proverbs, nor for his old saw,  
Nor yet would I by him corrected be.  
I hate one that my vices tells to me,  
And so do more of us—God knows!—than I.  
This made him mad with me, and furiously,  
That I'd not yield to him in any case.

    "Now will I tell you truth, by Saint Thomas,  
Of why I tore from out his book a leaf,  
For which he struck me so it made me deaf.

    "He had a book that gladly, night and day,  
For his amusement he would read away.  
He called it *Theophrastus* and *Valerius*,  
At which book would he laugh, uproarious.  
And, too, there sometime was a clerk at Rome,  
A cardinal, that men called Saint Jerome,  
Who made a book against Jovinian;  
In which book, too, there was Tertullian,  
Chrysippus, Trotula, and Heloïse  
Who was abbess near Paris' diocese;  
And too, the *Proverbs* of King Solomon,  
And Ovid's *Art*, and books full many a one.  
And all of these were bound in one volume.  
And every night and day 'twas his custom,  
When he had leisure and took some vacation  
From all his other worldly occupation,  
To read, within this book, of wicked wives.  
He knew of them more legends and more lives  
Than are of good wives written in the Bible.  
For trust me, it's impossible, no libel,  
That any cleric shall speak well of wives,  
Unless it be of saints and holy lives,

But naught for other women will they do.  
Who painted first the lion, tell me who?  
By God, if women had but written stories,  
As have these clerks within their oratories,  
They would have written of men more wickedness  
Than all the race of Adam could redress. . . .

“But now to tell you, as I started to,  
Why I was beaten for a book, *pardieu*.  
Upon a night Jenkin, who was our sire,  
Read in his book, as he sat by the fire,  
Of Mother Eve who, by her wickedness,  
First brought mankind to all his wretchedness,  
For which Lord Jesus Christ Himself was slain,  
Who, with His heart’s blood, saved us thus again.  
Lo here, expressly of woman, may you find  
That woman was the ruin of mankind.

“Then read he out how Samson lost his hairs,  
Sleeping, his leman cut them with her shears;  
And through this treason lost he either eye.

“Then read he out, if I am not to lie,  
Of Hercules, and Deianira’s desire  
That caused him to go set himself on fire.

“Nothing escaped him of the pain and woe  
That Socrates had with his spouses two;  
How Xantippe threw filth upon his head;  
This hapless man sat still, as he were dead.  
How Clytemnestra, for her lechery,  
Had caused her husband’s death by treachery  
How some had driven nails into the brain  
While husbands slept and in such wise were slain.  
And some had given them poison in their drink.  
He told more evil than the mind can think.  
And therewithal he knew of more proverbs  
Than in this world there grows of grass or herbs.  
‘Bettei,’ he said, ‘your habitation be  
With lion wild or dragon foul,’ said he,  
‘Than with a woman who will nag and chide.’  
‘Better,’ he said, ‘on the housetop abide  
Than with a brawling wife down in the house;  
Such are so wicked and contrarious

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

They hate the thing their husband loves, for aye.'  
He said, 'a woman throws her shame away  
When she throws off her smock,' and further, too:  
'A woman fair, save she be chaste also,  
Is like a ring of gold in a sow's nose.'  
Who would imagine or who would suppose  
What grief and pain were in this heart of mine?  
"And when I saw he'd never cease, in fine,  
His reading in this cursed book at night,  
Three leaves of it I snatched and tore outright  
Out of his book, as he read on; and eke  
I with my fist so took him on the cheek  
That in our fire he reeled and fell right down.  
Then he got up as does a wild lion,  
And with his fist he struck me on the head,  
And on the floor I lay as I were dead.  
And when he saw how limp and still I lay,  
He was afraid and would have run away,  
Until at last out of my swoon I made:  
'Oh, have you slain me, you false thief?' I said,  
'And for my land have you thus murdered me?  
Kiss me before I die, and let me be.'

"He came to me and near me he knelt down,  
And said: 'O my dear sister Alison,  
So help me God, I'll never strike you more;  
What I have done, you are to blame therefor.  
But all the same forgiveness now I seek!  
And thereupon I hit him on the cheek,  
And said: 'Thief, so much vengeance do I wreak!  
Now will I die, I can no longer speak!  
But at the last, and with much care and woe,  
We made it up between ourselves. And so  
He put the bridle reins within my hand  
To have the governing of house and land;  
And of his tongue and of his hand, also;  
And made him burn his book, right then, oh!  
And when I had thus gathered unto me  
Masterfully, the entire sovereignty,  
And he had said: 'My own true wedded wife,  
Do as you please the term of all your life,

Geoffrey Chaucer

Guard your own honor and keep fair my state'—  
After that day we never had debate.  
God help me now, I was to him as kind  
As any wife from Denmark unto Ind,  
And also true, and so was he to me.  
I pray to God, Who sits in majesty,  
To bless his soul, out of His mercy dear!  
Now will I tell my tale, if you will hear."

*[The Friar and Summoner argue their respective appreciations of this lengthy preamble. The Host calls them to order and the Wife of Bath begins her tale.]*

### *The Tale of the Wife of Bath*

NOW IN THE OLDEN DAYS of King Arthur,  
Of whom the Britons speak with great honor,  
All this wide land was land of faëry.  
The elf-queen, with her jolly company,  
Danced oftentimes on many a green mead;  
This was the old opinion, as I read.  
I speak of many hundred years ago;  
But now no man can see the elves, you know.  
For now the so-great charity and prayers  
Of limiters and other holy friars  
That do infest each land and every stream  
As thick as motes are in a bright sunbeam,  
Blessing halls, chambers, kitchens, ladies' bowers,  
Cities and towns and castles and high towers,  
Manors and barns and stables, aye and dairies—  
This causes it that there are now no fairies.  
For where was wont to walk full many an elf,  
Right there walks now the limiter himself  
In noons and afternoons and in mornings,  
Saying his matins and such holy things.  
As he goes round his district in his gown.  
Women may now go safely up and down,  
In every copse or under every tree;  
There is no other incubus than he,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And would do them nothing but dishonor.

And so befell it that this King Arthur  
Had at his court a lusty bachelor  
Who, on a day, came riding from river;  
And happened that, alone as she was born,  
He saw a maiden walking through the corn,  
From whom, in spite of all she did and said,  
Straightway by force he took her maidenhead;  
For which violation was there such clamor,  
And such appealing unto King Arthur,  
That soon condemned was this knight to be dead  
By course of law, and should have lost his head,  
Peradventure, such being the statute then;  
But that the other ladies and the queen  
So long prayed of the king to show him grace,  
He granted life, at last, in the law's place,  
And gave him to the queen, as she should will,  
Whether she'd save him, or his blood should spill.

The queen she thanked the king with all her might,  
And after this, thus spoke she to the knight,  
When she'd an opportunity, one day:  
"You stand yet," said she, "in such poor a way  
That for your life you've no security.  
I'll grant you life if you can tell to me  
What thing it is that women most desire.  
Be wise, and keep your neck from iron dire!  
And if you cannot tell it me anon,  
Then will I give you license to be gone  
A twelvemonth and a day, to search and learn  
Sufficient answer in this grave concern.  
And your knight's word I'll have, ere forth you pace,  
To yield your body to me in this place."

Grieved was this knight, and sorrowfully he sighed;  
But there! he could not do as pleased his pride.  
And at the last he chose that he would wend,  
And come again upon the twelvemonth's end,  
With such an answer as God might purvey;  
And so he took his leave and went his way.

He sought out every house and every place  
Wherein he hoped to find that he had grace

To learn what women love the most of all;  
But nowhere ever did it him befall  
To find, upon the question stated here,  
Two persons who agreed with statement clear.

Some said that women all loved best riches,  
Some said, fair fame, and some said, prettiness. . . .  
Some said that our poor hearts are aye most eased  
When we have been most flattered and thus pleased.  
And he went near the truth, I will not lie;  
A man may win us best with flattery;  
And with attentions and with busyness  
We're often limed, the greater and the less.

And some say, too, that we do love the best  
To be quite free to do our own behest,  
And that no man reprove us for our vice,  
But saying we are wise, take our advice.

And some folk say that great delight have we  
To be held constant, also trustworthy,  
And on one purpose steadfastly to dwell,  
And not betray a thing that men may tell.

This knight my tale is chiefly told about  
When what he went for he could not find out,  
That is, the thing that women love the best,  
Most saddened was the spirit in his breast;  
But home he goes, he could no more delay.  
The day was come when home he turned his way;  
And on his way it chanced that he should ride  
In all his care, beneath a forest's side,  
And there he saw, a-dancing him before,  
Full four and twenty ladies, maybe more;  
Toward which dance eagerly did he turn  
In hope that there some wisdom he should learn.  
But truly, ere he came upon them there,  
The dancers vanished all, he knew not where.  
No creature saw he that gave sign of life,  
Save, on the greensward sitting, an old wife;  
A fouler person could no man devise.  
Before the knight this old wife did arise,  
And said: "Sir knight, hence lies no traveled way.  
Tell me what think you seek, and by your fay.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Perchance you'll find it may the better be;  
These ancient folk know many things," said she.

"Dear mother," said this knight assuredly,  
"I am but dead, save I can tell, truly,  
What thing it is that women most desire;  
Could you inform me, I'd pay well your hire."

"Plight me your troth here, hand in hand," said she,  
"That you will do, whatever it may be,  
The thing I ask if it lie in your might;  
And I'll give you your answer ere the night."

"Have here my word," said he. "That thing I grant."  
"Then," said the crone, "of this I make my vaunt,  
Your life is safe; and I will stand thereby,  
Upon my life, the queen will say as I.  
Let's see which is the proudest of them all  
That wears upon her hair kerchief or caul,  
Shall dare say no to that which I shall teach;  
Let us go now and without longer speech."

Then whispered she a sentence in his ear,  
And bade him to be glad and have no fear.

When they were come unto the court, this knight  
Said he had kept his promise as was right,  
And ready was his answer, as he said.  
Full many a noble wife, and many a maid,  
And many a widow, since they are so wise,  
The queen herself sitting as high justice,  
Assembled were, his answer there to hear;  
And then the knight was bidden to appear.

Command was given for silence in the hall,  
And that the knight should tell before them all  
What thing all worldly women love the best.  
This knight did not stand dumb, as does a beast,  
But to this question presently answered  
With manly voice, so that the whole court heard:  
"My liege lady, generally," said he,  
"Women desire to have the sovereignty  
As well upon their husband as their love,  
And to have mastery their man above;  
This thing you most desire, though me you kill  
Do as you please, I am here at your will."



In all the court there was no wife or maid  
Or widow that denied the thing he said,  
But all held, he was worthy to have life.

And with that word up started the old wife  
Whom he had seen a-sitting on the green.  
"Mercy," cried she, "my sovereign lady queen!  
Before the court's dismissed, give me my right.  
'Twas I who taught the answer to this knight;  
For which he did plight troth to me, out there  
That the first thing I should of him require  
He would do that, if it lay in his might.  
Before the court, now, pray I you, Sir Knight,"  
Said she, "that you will take me for your wife;  
For well you know that I have saved your life.  
If this be false, say nay, upon your fay!"

This knight replied: "Alas and welaway!  
That I so promised I will not protest.  
But for God's love pray make a new request.  
Take all my wealth and let my body go."

"Nay then," said she, "beshrew us if I do!  
For though I may be foul and old and poor,  
I will not, for all metal and all ore  
That from the earth is dug or lies above,  
Be aught except your wife and your true love."

"My love?" cried he, "nay, rather my damnation!  
Alas! that any of my race and station  
Should ever so dishonored foully be!"

But all for naught; the end was this, that he  
Was so constrained he needs must go and wed,  
And take his ancient wife and go to bed.

Now, peradventure, would some men say here,  
That, of my negligence, I take no care  
To tell you of the joy and all the array  
That at the wedding feast were seen that day.  
Make a brief answer to this thing I shall;  
I say, there was no joy or feast at all;  
There was but heaviness and grievous sorrow;  
For privately he wedded on the morrow,  
And all day, then, he hid him like an owl;  
So sad he was, his old wife looked so foul.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Great was the woe the knight had in his thought  
When he, with her, to marriage bed was brought;  
He rolled about and turned him to and fro.  
His old wife lay there, always smiling so,  
And said: "O my dear husband, *ben'cite!*  
Fares every knight with wife as you with me?  
Is this the custom in King Arthur's house?  
Are knights of his all so fastidious?  
I am your own true love and, more, your wife;  
And I am she who saved your very life;  
And truly, since I've never done you wrong,  
Why do you treat me so, this first night long?  
You act as does a man who's lost his wit;  
What is my fault? For God's love tell me it,  
And it shall be amended, if I may."

"Amended!" cried this knight, "Alas, nay, nay!  
It will not be amended ever, no!  
You are so loathsome, and so old also,  
And therewith of so low a race were born,  
It's little wonder that I toss and turn.  
Would God my heart would break within my breast!"

"Is this," asked she, "the cause of your unrest?"

"Yes, truly," said he, "and no wonder 'tis."

"Now, sir," said she, "I could amend all this,  
If I but would, and that within days three,  
If you would bear yourself well towards me.

"But since you speak of such gentility  
As is descended from old wealth, till ye  
Claim that for that you should be gentlemen,  
I hold such arrogance not worth a hen.  
Find him who is most virtuous alway,  
Alone or publicly, and most tries aye  
To do whatever noble deeds he can,  
And take him for the greatest gentleman.  
Christ wills we claim from Him gentility,  
Not from ancestors of landocracy.  
For though they give us all their heritage,  
For which we claim to be of high lineage,  
Yet can they not bequeath, in anything,  
To any of us, their virtuous living,

That made men say they had gentility,  
And bade us follow them in like degree. . . .

“Take fire and carry it in the darkest house  
Between here and the Mount of Caucasus,  
And let men shut the doors and from them turn;  
Yet will the fire as fairly blaze and burn  
As twenty thousand men did it behold;  
Its nature and its office it will hold,  
On peril of my life, until it die.

“From this you see that true gentility  
Is not allied to wealth a man may own,  
Since folk do not their deeds, as may be shown,  
As does the fire, according to its kind.  
For God knows that men may full often find  
A lord’s son doing shame and villainy;  
And he that prizes his gentility  
In being born of some old noble house,  
With ancestors both noble and virtuous,  
But will himself do naught of noble deeds  
Nor follow him to whose name he succeeds,  
He is not gentle, be he duke or earl;  
For acting churlish make a man a churl. . . .

“And when you me reproach for poverty,  
The High God, in Whom we believe, say I,  
In voluntary poverty lived His life.  
And surely every man, or maid, or wife  
May understand that Jesus, Heaven’s King,  
Would not have chosen vileness of living.  
Glad poverty’s an honest thing, that’s plain,  
Which Seneca and other clerks maintain.  
Whoso will be content with poverty,  
I hold him rich, though not a shirt has he.  
And he that covets much is a poor wight,  
For he would gain what’s all beyond his might.  
But he that has not, nor desires to have,  
Is rich, although you hold him but a knave.

“True poverty, it sings right naturally;  
Juvenal gaily says of poverty:  
‘The poor man, when he walks along the way,  
Before the robbers he may sing and play.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Poverty's odious good, and, as I guess,  
It is a stimulant to busyness;  
A great improver, too, of sapience  
In him that takes it all with due patience.  
Poverty's this, though it seem misery—  
Its quality may none dispute, say I.  
Poverty often, when a man is low,  
Makes him his God and even himself to know.  
And poverty's an eye-glass, seems to me,  
Through which a man his loyal friends may see.  
Since you've received no injury from me,  
Then why reproach me for my poverty?

"Now, sir, with age you have upbraided me;  
And truly, sir, though no authority  
Were in a book, you gentles of honor  
Say that men should the aged show favor,  
And call him father, of your gentleness;  
And authors could I find for this, I guess. . . .

"Choose, now," said she, "one of these two things, aye,  
To have me foul and old until I die,  
And be to you a true and humble wife,  
And never anger you in all my life;  
Or else to have me young and very fair  
And take your chance with those who will repair  
Unto your house, and all because of me,  
Or in some other place, as well may be.  
Now choose which you like better and reply."

This knight considered, and did sorely sigh,  
But at the last replied as you shall hear:  
"My lady and my love, and wife so dear,  
I put myself in your wise governing;  
Do you choose which may be the more pleasing,  
And bring most honor to you, and me also.  
I care not which it be of these things two;  
For if you like it, that suffices me."

"Then have I got of you the mastery,  
Since I may choose and govern, in earnest?"

"Yes, truly, wife," said he, "I hold that best."

"Kiss me," said she, "we'll be no longer wroth,  
For by my truth, to you I will be both;

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

That is to say, I'll be both good and fair.  
I pray God I go mad, and so declare,  
If I be not to you as good and true  
As ever wife was since the world was new.  
And, save I be, at dawn, as fairly seen  
As any lady, empress, or great queen  
That is between the east and the far west,  
Do with my life and death as you like best.  
Throw back the curtain and see how it is."

And when the knight saw verily all this,  
That she so very fair was, and young too,  
For joy he clasped her in his strong arms two,  
His heart bathed in a bath of utter bliss;  
A thousand times, all in a row, he'd kiss.  
And she obeyed his wish in everything  
That might give pleasure to his love-liking.

And I pray Jesus to cut short the lives  
Of those who'll not be governed by their wives;  
And old and querulous niggards with their pence,  
And send them soon a mortal pestilence!

*The Friar's Prologue*

THIS WORTHY LIMITER, this noble Friar,  
He turned always a lowering face, and dire,  
Upon the Summoner, but for courtesy  
No rude and insolent word as yet spoke he.  
But at the last he said unto the Wife:  
"Lady," said he, "God grant you a good life!  
You have here touched, as I may prosperous be,  
Upon school matters of great difficulty;  
You have said many things right well, I say;  
But, lady, as we ride along our way,  
We need but talk to carry on our game,  
And leave authorities, in good God's name,  
To preachers and to schools for clergymen.  
But if it pleases all this company, then,  
I'll tell you of a summoner, to make game.  
By God, you could surmise it by the name

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

That of a summoner may no good be said;  
I pray that no one will be angry made." . . .

Our Host then spoke: "O sir, you should attend  
To courtesy, like man of your estate;  
In company here we will have no debate.  
Tell forth your tale and let the summoner be."

"Nay," said the Summoner, "let him say to me  
What pleases him; when it falls to my lot,  
By God I'll then repay him, every jot.  
I'll then make plain to him what great honor  
It is to be a flattering limiter;  
I'll certainly tell him what his business is."

Our Host replied: "Oh peace, no more of this!"  
And after that he said unto the Friar:  
"Tell now your tale to us, good master dear."

[The Friar's Tale concerns an unprincipled summoner who employs spies to inform on members of the parish, whom he then blackmails. One day, as he is plying his trade, he meets a yeoman with the same inclinations. They vow to be sworn brothers till their dying day. The yeoman turns out to be the devil, who carries the summoner off to his domain.]

### *The Summoner's Prologue*

HIGH IN HIS STIRRUPS, then, the Summoner stood;  
Against the Friar his heart, as madman's would,  
Shook like a very aspen leaf, for ire.

"Masters," said he, "but one thing I desire;  
I beg of you that, of your courtesy,  
Since you have heard this treacherous friar lie,  
You suffer it that I my tale may tell!  
This friar he boasts he knows somewhat of Hell,  
And God He knows that it is little wonder;  
Friars and fiends are never far asunder.  
For, by gad, you have oftentimes heard tell  
How such a friar was snatched down into Hell  
In spirit, once, and by a vision blown;  
And as an angel led him up and down

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

To show the pains and torments that there were,  
In all the place he saw no friar there.  
Of other folk he saw enough in woe;  
And to the angel then he questioned so:

“‘Now, sir,’ said he, ‘have friars such a grace  
That none of them shall come into this place?’

“‘Nay,’ said the angel, ‘millions here are thrown!’  
And unto Sathanas he led him down. . . .

This friar, when he’d looked at length his fill  
Upon the torments of that sorry place,  
His spirit God restored, of His high grace,  
Into his body, and he did awake;  
Nevertheless for terror did he quake. . . .  
God save all but this cursed Friar here;  
My prologue ends thus; to my tale give ear.”

*[To pay back the Friar, the Summoner tells how a grasping limiter  
is crudely rebuffed when he exasperates a bedridden man by  
preaching at him.]*

*The Clerk's Prologue*

SIR CLERK OF OXFORD,” our good Host then said,  
“You ride as quiet and still as is a maid  
But newly wedded, sitting at the board;  
This day I’ve heard not from your tongue a word.  
Perhaps you mull a sophism that’s prime,  
But Solomon says, each thing to its own time.

“For God’s sake, smile and be of better cheer,  
It is no time to think and study here.  
Tell us some merry story, if you may;  
For whatsoever man will join in play,  
He needs must to the play give his consent.  
But do not preach, as friars do in Lent,  
To make us, for our old sins, wail and weep,  
And see your tale shall put us not to sleep.

“Tell us some merry thing of adventures.  
Your terms, your colors, and your speech-figures,  
Keep them in store till so be you indite

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

High style, as when men unto kings do write.  
Speak you so plainly, for this time, I pray,  
That we can understand what things you say."

This worthy Clerk, benignly he answered.  
"Good Host," said he, "I am under your yard;  
You have of us, for now, the governance,  
And therefore do I make you obeisance  
As far as reason asks it, readily.  
I will relate to you a tale that I  
Learned once, at Padua, of a worthy clerk,  
As he proved by his words and by his work.  
He's dead, now, and nailed down within his chest,  
And I pray God to give his soul good rest!

"Francis Petrarch, the laureate poet,  
Was this clerk's name, whose rhetoric so sweet  
Illumed all Italy with poetry, . . .  
And this is his tale, which you now may hear."

### *The Clerk's Tale*

[The Clerk's Tale, one hundred and fifty "rhyme-royal" stanzas in length, is the story of an ideal wife. The first four parts tell of the Marquis Walter of Saluzzo who is urged by his people to marry and provide an heir. He chooses as bride Griselda, the only daughter of a poor peasant, stipulating, however, that she must always unquestioningly obey his every whim. The marquis first tests her constancy after their daughter is born. Pretending that the people object to a lowborn heir, he has the child taken from Griselda; he tells her the child must be killed, although actually he sends the infant away to be reared by his sister, the Countess of Panago. Six years later the obsessed marquis repeats the procedure with a son. Griselda's patience continues undiminished. Part V begins five years later.]

## PART V

Meanwhile, according to his wicked way,  
This marquis, still to test his wife once more,  
Even to the final proof of her, I say,  
Fully to have experience to the core



*Geoffrey Chaucer*

If she were yet as steadfast as before,  
He on a day in open audience  
Loudly said unto her this rude sentence:

“Truly, Griselda, I’d much joy, perchance,  
When you I took for wife, for your goodness  
And for your truth and your obedience,  
Not for your lineage nor your wealth, I guess;  
But now I know, in utter certainness,  
That in great lordship, if I well advise,  
There is great servitude in sundry wise.

“I may not act as every plowman may;  
My people have constrained me that I take  
Another wife, and this they ask each day;  
And now the pope, hot rancor thus to slake,  
Consents, I dare the thing to undertake;  
And truly now this much to you I’ll say,  
My new wife journeys hither on her way. . . .

And she replied again, of her patience:  
“My lord,” said she, “I know, and knew alway,  
How that between your own magnificence  
And my poor state, no person can or may  
Make a comparison in an equal way.  
I never held me worthy or of grade  
To be your wife, no, nor your chambermaid. . . .

“That you so long, of your benignity,  
Have held me here in honor in this way,  
Where I was never worthy. once, to be.  
For that, thank God and you—to God I pray  
He will reward you. There’s no more to say.  
Unto my father gladly will I wend  
And dwell with him until my life shall end. . . .

“But truth is said—at least I find it true  
For actually its proof is seen in me—  
Old love is not the same as when it’s new.  
But truly, lord, for no adversity,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Though I should die of all this, shall it be  
That ever in word or deed I shall repent  
That I gave you my heart in whole intent.

"My lord, you know that, in my father's place,  
You stripped from me my poor and humble weed  
And clothed me richly, of your noble grace.  
I brought you nothing else at all indeed,  
Than faith and nakedness and maidenhead.  
And here again my clothing I restore,  
And, too, my wedding-ring, for evermore.

"The rest of all your jewels, they will be  
Within your chamber, as I dare maintain;  
Naked out of my father's house," said she,  
"I came, and naked I return again.  
To follow aye your pleasure I am fain,  
But yet I hope it is not your intent  
That smockless from your palace I be sent. . . .

"The smock," said he, "that you have on your back,  
Let it stay there and wear it forth," said he.  
But firmness in so saying the man did lack;  
But went his way for ruth and for pity.  
Before the folk her body then stripped she  
And in her smock, with head and feet all bare,  
Toward her father's hovel did she fare.

The folk they followed, weeping and with cries,  
And Fortune did they curse as they passed on;  
But she with weeping did not wet her eyes,  
And all this while of words she said not one.  
Her father, who had heard this news anon,  
Cursed then the day and hour when from the earth,  
A living creature, nature gave him birth. . . .

Thus with her father, for a certain space,  
Did dwell this flower of wifely meek patience,  
Who neither by her words nor in her face,  
Before the people nor in their absence,

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

Showed that she thought to her was done offense;  
Nor of her high estate a remembrance  
Had she, to judge by her calm countenance.

No wonder, though, for while in high estate,  
Her soul kept ever full humility;  
No mouth complaining, no heart delicate,  
No pomp, no look of haughty royalty,  
But full of patience and benignity,  
Discreet and prideless, always honorable,  
And to her husband meek and firm as well. . . .

PART VI

Now from Bologna is Panago come,  
Whereof the word spread unto great and less,  
And in the ears of people, all and some,  
It was told, too, that a new marchioness  
Came with him, in such pomp and such richness  
That never had been seen with human eye  
So noble array in all West Lombardy.

The marquis, who had planned and knew all this,  
Before this count was come, a message sent  
To poor Griselda, who had lost her bliss;  
With humble heart and features glad she went  
And on her knees before her lord she bent.  
No pride of thought did her devotion dim;  
She wisely and with reverence greeted him.

He said, "Griselda, hear what I shall say:  
This maiden, who'll be wedded unto me,  
Shall be received with splendor of array  
As royally as in my house may be,  
And, too, that everyone in his degree  
Have his due rank in seating and service,  
And high pleasure, as I can best devise.

"I have not serving women adequate  
To set the rooms in order as I would,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And so I wish you here to regulate  
All matters of the sort as mistress should.  
You know of old the ways I think are good,  
And though you're clothed in such a slattern's way,  
Go do at least your duty as you may." . . .

Then she began to put the house aright,  
To set the tables and the beds to make;  
And was at pains to do all that she might,  
Praying the chambermaids, for good God's sake,  
To make all haste and sweep hard and to shake;  
And she, who was most serviceable of all,  
Did every room array, and his wide hall. . . .

Full busy Griselda was in everything  
That to the marquis' feast was pertinent;  
Nothing was she confused by her clothing,  
Though rude it was and somewhat badly rent.  
But with a glad face to the gate she went,  
With other folk, to greet the marchioness,  
And afterward she did her busyness. . . .

In all this while she never once did cease  
The maiden and her brother to commend  
With kindness of a heart that was at peace,  
So well that no man could her praise amend.  
But at the last, when all these lords did wend  
To seat themselves to dine, then did he call  
Griselda, who was busy in his hall.

"Griselda," said he, as it were in play,  
"How like you my new wife and her beauty?"  
"Right well," said she, "my lord, for by my fay  
A fairer saw I never than is she.  
I pray that God give her prosperity;  
And so I hope that to you both He'll send  
Great happiness until your lives shall end. . . .

And when this Walter thought of her patience,  
Her glad face, with no malice there at all,

And how so oft he'd done to her offence,  
And she aye firm and constant as a wall,  
Remaining ever blameless through it all,  
This cruel marquis did his heart address  
To pity for her wifely steadfastness.

"This is enough, Griselda mine!" cried he,  
"Be now no more ill pleased nor more afraid;  
I have your faith and your benignity,  
As straitly as ever woman's was, assayed  
In high place and in poverty arrayed.  
Now know I well, dear wife, your steadfastness."  
And he began to kiss her and to press. . . .

"This is your daughter, whom you have supposed  
Should be my wife; the other child truly  
Shall be my heir, as I have aye purposed;  
You bore him in your body faithfully.  
I've kept them at Bologna secretly;  
Take them again, for now you cannot say  
That you have lost your children twain for aye.

"And folk that otherwise have said of me,  
I warn them well that I have done this deed  
Neither for malice nor for cruelty,  
But to make trial in you of virtue hid,  
And not to slay my children, God forbid!  
But just to keep them privily and still  
Till I your purpose knew and all your will."

When she heard this, she swooned and down did fall  
For pitiful joy, and after her swooning  
Both her young children to her did she call,  
And in her arms, full piteously weeping,  
Embraced them, and all tenderly kissing,  
As any mother would, with many a tear  
She bathed their faces and their sunny hair. . . .

"O young, O dear, O tender children mine,  
Your woeful mother thought for long, truly,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

That cruel hounds, or birds, or foul vermin  
Had eaten you; but God, of His mercy,  
And your good father, all so tenderly,  
Have kept you safely." And in swoon profound  
Suddenly there she fell upon the ground. . . .

But Walter cheered her till her sorrow fled;  
And she rose up, abashed, out of her trance;  
All praised her now, and joyous words they said,  
Till she regained her wonted countenance.  
Walter so honored her by word and glance  
That it was pleasing to observe the cheer  
Between them, now again together here.

These ladies, when they found a tactful way,  
Withdrew her and to her own room were gone,  
And stripped her out of her so rude array,  
And in a cloth of gold that brightly shone,  
Crowned with a crown of many a precious stone  
Upon her head, once more to hall they brought  
Her, where they honored her as all they ought. .

Full many a year in high prosperity  
They lived, these two, in harmony and rest,  
And splendidly his daughter married he  
Unto a lord, one of the worthiest  
In Italy; and then in peace, as best  
His wife's old father at his court he kept  
Until the soul out of his body crept.

His son succeeded to his heritage  
In rest and peace, after the marquis' day,  
And wedded happily at proper age,  
Albeit he tried his wife not, so they say.  
This world is not so harsh, deny who may,  
As in old times that now are long since gone,  
And hearken what this author says thereon.

This story's told here, not that all wives should  
Follow Griselda in humility,

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

For this would be unbearable, though they would,  
But just that everyone, in his degree,  
Should be as constant in adversity  
As was Griselda; for that Petrarch wrote  
This tale, and in a high style, as you'll note.

For since a woman once was so patient  
Before a mortal man, well more we ought  
Receive in good part that which God has sent;  
For cause he has to prove what He has wrought.  
But He tempts no man that His blood has bought,  
As James says, if you his epistle read;  
Yet does He prove folk at all times, indeed. . . .

But one word, masters, hearken ere I go:  
One hardly can discover nowadays,  
In all a town, Griseldas three or two;  
For, if they should be put to such assays,  
Their gold's so badly alloyed, in such ways,  
With brass, that though the coin delight the eye,  
'Twill rather break in two than bend, say I. . . .

*The Merchant's Prologue*

**O**F WEeping AND WAILING, care and other sorrow  
I know enough, at eventide and morrow,"  
The Merchant said, "and so do many more  
Of married folk, I think, who this deplore,  
For well I know that it is so with me.  
I have a wife, the worst one that can be;  
For though the foul Fiend to her wedded were,  
She'd overmatch him, this I dare to swear.  
How could I tell you anything special  
Of her great malice? She is shrew in all.  
There is a long and a large difference  
Between Griselda's good and great patience  
And my wife's more than common cruelty.  
Were I unbound, as may I prosperous be!  
I'd never another time fall in the snare.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

We wedded men in sorrow live, and care;  
Try it who will, and he shall truly find  
I tell the truth, by Saint Thomas of Ind,  
As for the greater part, I say not all.  
Nay, God forbid that it should so befall!

"Ah, good sir Host! I have been married, lad,  
These past two months, and no day more, by gad;  
And yet I think that he whose days alive  
Have been all wifeless, although men should rive  
Him to the heart, he could in no wise clear  
Tell you so much of sorrow as I here  
Could tell you of my spouse's cursedness."

"Now," said our Host, "Merchant, so God you bless,  
Since you're so very learned in that art,  
Full heartily, I pray you, tell us part."

"Gladly," said he, "but of my own fresh sore,  
For grief of heart I may not tell you more."

*[The Merchant then relates the story of a foolish old man mismatched with a young wife who loses no time in deceiving him. Here, it is assumed, ends the third day. The fourth day begins with The Squire's Tale, a romance of King Cambinskan and his court, which Chaucer left unfinished.]*

### *The Words of the Franklin to the Squire and of the Host to the Franklin*

**I**N FAITH, Sir Squire, you have done well with it,  
And openly I praise you for your wit,"  
The Franklin said, "Considering your youth,  
So feelingly you speak, sir, in good truth!  
In my opinion, there is none that's here  
In eloquence shall ever be your peer,  
If you but live; may God give you good chance  
And in all virtue send continuance!  
For, sir, your speech was great delight to me. . . .

"A straw for courtesy!" exclaimed our Host;  
"What, Franklin? Gad, sir, well you know, I trust,  
That each of you must tell us, at the least,



A tale or two, or break his sworn behest."

"I know it," said the Franklin; "I am fain,  
And pray you all, you do not me disdain,  
Though to this man I speak a word or two."

"Come, tell your tale, sir, without more ado."

"Gladly, Sir Host," said he, "I will obey  
Your will, good Host; now hearken what I say. . . .

### *The Franklin's Tale*

**I**N OLD ARMORICA, now Brittany,  
There was a knight that loved and strove, did he,  
To serve a lady in the highest wise;  
And many a labor, many a great emprise  
He wrought for her, or ever she was won.  
For she was of the fairest under sun,  
And therewithal come of so high kindred  
That scarcely could this noble knight, for dread,  
Tell her his woe, his pain, and his distress.  
But at the last she, for his worthiness,  
And specially for his meek obedience,  
Had so much pity that, in consequence,  
She secretly was come to his accord  
To take him for her husband and her lord,  
Of such lordship as men have over wives;  
And that they might be happier in their lives,  
Of his free will he swore to her, as knight,  
That never in his life, by day or night,  
Would he assume a right of mastery  
Against her will, nor show her jealousy,  
But would obey and do her will in all  
As any lover of his lady shall;  
Save that the name and show of sovereignty,  
Those would he have, lest he shame his degree.

She thanked him, and with a great humbleness  
She said: "Since, sir, of your own nobleness  
You proffer me to have so loose a rein  
Would God there never come between us twain,  
For any guilt of mine, a war or strife.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Sir, I will be your humble, faithful wife,  
Take this as truth till heart break in my breast."  
Thus were they both in quiet and in rest. . . .

Who could relate, save those that wedded be,  
The joy, the ease, and the prosperity  
That are between a husband and a wife?  
A year and more endured this blissful life,  
Until the knight, of whom I've spoken thus,  
Who at Kayrrud was called Arviragus,  
Arranged to go and dwell a year or twain  
In England, which was then known as Britain,  
To seek in arms renown and great honor;  
For his desire was fixed in such labor;  
And there he lived two years (the book says thus).

Now will I hold from this Arviragus,  
And I will speak of Dorigen his wife,  
Who loved her husband as her heart's own life.  
For all his absence wept she and she sighed,  
As noble wives do at a lone fireside.  
She mourned, watched, wailed, she fasted and complained;  
Desire for him so bound her and constrained,  
That all this wide world did she set at naught.  
Her friends, who knew her grief and heavy thought,  
Comforted her as they might do or say;  
They preached to her, they told her night and day  
That for no cause she killed herself, alas!  
And every comfort possible in this pass  
They gave to her, in all their busyness,  
To make her thus put by her heaviness. . . .

Her friends saw that to her it was no sport  
To wander by the sea, but discomfort;  
And so arranged to revel somewhere else.  
They led her along rivers and to wells,  
And such delightful places; and told fables,  
And danced, and played at chess, and played at tables.

So on a day, all in the morningtide,  
Unto a garden which was there beside,  
Wherein they'd given command that there should be  
Food and whatever else was necessary,  
They went for pleasure all the livelong day.

Geoffrey Chaucer

And this was on the morning sixth of May,  
And May had painted with his soft warm showers  
This garden full of foliage and of flowers;  
And work of man's hand had so curiously  
Arrayed this lovely garden, truthfully,  
That never was another of such price,  
Unless it were the very Paradise.  
The scent of flowers and the fair fresh sight  
Would have made any heart dance for delight  
That e'er was born, unless too great sickness  
Or too great sorrow held it in distress;  
So full it was of beauty and pleasance.  
After their dinner all began to dance,  
And sing, also, save Dorigen alone,  
Who made alway her same complaint and moan.  
For him she saw not through the dancing go,  
Who was her husband and her love also.  
Nevertheless, she must a time abide,  
And with good hope held, let her sorrow slide.

*[A young squire named Aurelius declares his love for her, but Dorigen is true to her husband. She emphasizes her rebuff by declaring that she will return the squire's love only when all the rocks on the coast of Brittany are gone. Her husband eventually returns home and Aurelius is left to mourn his passion. He languishes for two years until, at his brother's suggestion, he seeks help from a magician.]*

This subtle clerk such ruth had for this man,  
That night and day he sped about his plan,  
To wait the proper time for his conclusion;  
That is to say, the time to make illusion,  
By such devices of his jugglery  
(I understand not this astrology)  
That she and everyone should think and say  
That all the Breton rocks were gone away,  
Or else that they were sunken underground.  
So at the last the proper time he found  
To do his tricks and all his wretchedness  
Of such a superstitious wickedness.  
For his Toletan Tables forth he brought,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

All well corrected, and he lacked in naught,  
The years collected nor the separate years,  
Nor his known roots, nor any other gears,  
As, say, his centers and his argument,  
And his proportionals convenient  
In estimating truly his equations.  
The eighth sphere showed him in his calculations  
How far removed was Alnath, passing by,  
From head of that fixed Aries on high,  
That in the ninth great sphere considered is;  
Right cleverly he calculated this.

When he the moon's first mansion thus had found,  
The rest proportionally he could expound;  
And knew the moon's arising-time right well,  
And in what face and term, and all could tell;  
This gave him then the mansion of the moon—  
He worked it out accordingly right soon,  
And did the other necessary rites  
To cause illusions and such evil sights  
As heathen peoples practiced in those days.  
Therefore no longer suffered he delays,  
But all the rocks by magic and his lore  
Appeared to vanish for a week or more.

Aurelius, who yet was torn by this,  
Whether he'd gain his love or fare amiss,  
Awaited night and day this miracle;  
And when he knew there was no obstacle,  
That vanished were these black rocks, every one,  
Down at the master's feet he fell anon. . . .

*[The miracle accomplished, Aurelius calls on Dorigen and reminds her of her vow. For two days she sorrows and wails, and finally tells her plight to her husband. "Truth," Arveragus says, "is the highest thing that man may keep," and he sends her to fulfill her promise. But Aurelius sees her distress and releases her from the bond.]*

Upon her bare knees did she thank him there,  
And home unto her husband did she fare,  
And told him all, as you have heard it said;  
And be assured, he was so pleased and glad

That 'twere impossible of it to write.  
What should I further of this case indite?  
Arviragus and Dorigen his wife  
In sovereign happiness led forth their life.  
Never did any anger come between;  
He cherished her as if she were a queen;  
And she to him was true for evermore  
Of these two folk you get from me no more.

Aurelius, whose wealth was now forlorn,  
He cursed the time that ever he was born;  
"Alas!" cried he, "Alas! that I did state  
I'd pay fine gold a thousand pounds by weight  
To this philosopher! What shall I do?  
I see no better than I'm ruined too.  
All of my heritage I needs must sell  
And be a beggar; here I cannot dwell  
And shame all of my kindred in this place,  
Unless I gain of him some better grace.  
And so I'll go to him and try, today,  
On certain dates, from year to year, to pay,  
And thank him for his princely courtesy;  
For I will keep my word, and I'll not lie."

With sore heart he went then to his coffer,  
And took gold unto this philosopher,  
The value of five hundred 'pounds, I guess,  
And so besought him, of his nobleness,  
To grant him dates for payment of the rest,  
And said: "Dear master, I may well protest  
I've never failed to keep my word, as yet;  
For certainly I'll pay my entire debt  
To you, however after I may fare,  
Even to begging, save for kirtle, bare.  
But if you'd grant, on good security,  
Two years or three of respite unto me,  
Then all were well; otherwise must I sell  
My heritage; there is no more to tell."

Then this philosopher soberly answered  
And spoke in this wise, when these words he'd heard:  
"Have I not fairly earned my promised fee?"  
"Yes, truly, you have done so, sir," said he.

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

"Have you not had the lady at your will?"

"No, no," said he, and sighed, and then was still

"What was the reason? Tell me if you can."

Aurelius his tale anon began,  
And told him all, as you have heard before;  
It needs not I repeat it to you more.

He said: "Arviragus, of nobleness,  
Had rather die in sorrow and distress  
Than that his wife were to her promise false."  
He told of Dorigen's grief, too, and how else  
She had been loath to live a wicked wife  
And rather would that day have lost her life,  
And that her troth she swore through ignorance:  
"She'd ne'er before heard of such simulance;  
Which made me have for her such great pity.  
And just as freely as he sent her me,  
As freely sent I her to him again.

This is the sum, there's no more to explain."

Then answered this philosopher: "Dear brother,  
Each one of you has nobly dealt with other.  
You are a squire, true, and he is a knight,  
But God forbid, what of His blessed might,  
A clerk should never do a gentle deed  
As well as any of you. Of this take heed!

"Sir, I release to you your thousand pound,  
As if, right now, you'd crept out of the ground  
And never, before now, had known of me.  
For, sir, I'll take of you not one penny  
For all my art and all my long travail.  
You have paid well for all my meat and ale;  
It is enough, so farewell, have good day!"  
And took his horse and went forth on his way.

Masters, this question would I ask you now:  
Which was most generous, do you think, and how?  
Pray tell me this before you farther wend.  
I can no more, my tale is at an end.

*[This story is followed by The Second Nun's Tale, the legend of St. Cecilia.]*

*The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue*

**W**HEN SAINT CECILIA'S LIFE was done, and whiles  
We had not farther gone a good five miles,  
At Boughton-under-Blean us did o'ertake  
A man, who was clothed all in clothes of black,  
And underneath he had a surplice white.  
His hackney was of dappled-gray, so bright  
With sweat that it was marvelous to see;  
It seemed that he had spurred him for miles three.  
The horse too that his yoeman rode upon  
So sweat that scarcely could it go; and on  
The breast strap of the harness foam stood high,  
Whereof he was as flecked as is a pie. . . .

His hat hung on his back down by a lace,  
For he had ridden more than trot or pace;  
He had spurred hard, indeed, as madman would.  
A burdock leaf he had beneath his hood  
To curb the sweat and keep his head from heat.  
But what a joy it was to see him sweat! . . .  
And this man when he came began to cry:  
"God save," said he, "this jolly company!  
Fast I have spurred," said he then, "for your sake,  
Because I wanted you to overtake,  
To ride on in this merry company."  
His yoeman too was full of courtesy,  
And said: "Good sirs, all in the morningtide  
Out of your hostelry I saw you ride,  
And warned my lord and master, full and plain,  
And he to ride with you is truly fain  
For his amusement; he loves dalliance."

"Friend, for your warning, God give you good chance,"  
Said then our Host, "for truly it would seem  
Your lord is wise, and so I may well deem;  
He is right jocund also, I dare lay.  
Can he a merry tale tell, on the way,  
Wherewith to gladden this our company?"

"Who, sir? My lord? Yea, yea, without a lie,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

He knows of mirth and of all jollity  
Not but enough; and also, sir, trust me,  
If you but knew him as well as do I,  
You'd wonder much how well and craftily  
He can behave, and that in different wise.  
He's taken on him many an enterprise  
That were right hard for anyone that's here  
(Unless he learned it) to effect, I fear.  
As plainly as he rides, here among you,  
It would be to your profit if you knew  
Him well; you'd not give up his acquaintance  
For much of wealth, I dare lay in balance  
All that I have of goods in my possession.  
He is a man of wondrous high discretion,  
I warn you well, he's a surpassing man."

"Well," said our Host, "then pray tell, if you can,  
Is he a clerk, or not? Tell what he is."

"Nay, he is greater than a clerk, ywis,"  
This Yeoman said, "and briefly, if you'll wait,  
Host, of his craft a little I'll relate.

"I say, my lord has so much subtlety  
(But all his art you cannot learn from me,  
And yet I help by working at his side),  
That all this pleasant land through which we ride,  
From here right into Canterbury town,  
Why, he could turn it all clean upside-down  
And pave it all with silver and with gold."

And when this Yeoman had this story told  
Unto our Host, our Host said: "*Ben'cite!*  
This thing is wondrous marvelous to me,  
Since your lord is a man of such science,  
For which men should hold him in reverence,  
That of his dignity his care's so slight;  
His over-garment is not worth a mite  
For such a man as he, so may I go!  
It is all dirty and it's torn also.  
Why is your lord so slovenly, pray I,  
And yet has power better clothes to buy,  
If but his deeds accord well with your speech?  
Tell me that, sir, and that I do beseech."



"Why?" asked this Yeoman, "Why ask this of me?  
God help me, wealthy he will never be!  
(But I will not stand back of what I say,  
And therefore keep it secret, I you pray).  
He is too wise, in faith, as I believe;  
That which is overdone, as I conceive,  
Won't turn out right, clerks say, and that's a vice.  
In that, I hold him ignorantly nice.  
For when a man has overmuch of wit,  
It often happens he misuses it;  
So does my lord, and this thing grieves me sore.  
May God amend it, I can say no more."

"No matter then, good Yeoman," said our Host;  
"Since of the learning of your lord you boast,  
Tell how he works, I pray you heartily,  
Since he's so clever and withal so sly.  
Where do you dwell, if you may tell it me?"

"Within the suburbs of a town," said he,  
"Lurking in corners and in alleys blind,  
Wherein these thieves and robbers, every kind,  
Have all their privy fearful residence,  
As those who dare not show men their presence;  
So do we live, if I'm to tell the truth."

"Now," said our Host, "let me go on, forsooth.  
Why are you so discolored in the face?"

"Peter!" cried he. "God give it evil grace!  
I am so wont upon the fire to blow  
That is has changed my color, as I trow.  
I'm not wont in a mirror, sir, to pry,  
But I work hard to learn to multiply.\*  
We stir and mix and stare into the fire,  
But for all that we fail of our desire,  
And never do we come to our conclusion.  
To many folk we bring about illusion,  
And borrow gold, perhaps a pound or two,  
Or ten, or twelve, or any sum will do,  
And make them think, aye, at the least, it's plain,  
That from a pound of gold we can make twain!  
It is all false, but yet we have great hope

\* To increase gold or silver in amount by alchemy

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

That we can do it, and after it we grope." . . .

The while this Yeoman chattered on like this,  
The Canon nearer drew and did not miss  
A thing he said; suspicion always woke  
In him, indeed, when anybody spoke. . . .

And thus he said unto his Yeoman then:

"Now hold your peace and do not speak again,  
For if you do you'll pay it ruefully;  
You slander me, here in this company,  
And you uncover that which you should hide."

"Yea?" said our Host, "Tell on, whate'er betide;  
For all his threatening do not care a mite!"

"In faith," said he, "my caring is but slight."

And when this Canon saw how it would be,  
That his Yeoman would tell his privity,  
He fled away for very grief and shame.

"Ah," said the Yeoman, "hence shall come a game.  
All that I know anon now will I tell.  
Since he is gone, the Fiend take him to Hell! . . .  
Since now my lord is gone, I will not spare;  
The things I know about I will declare."

### *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*

#### PART I

SEVEN YEARS I'VE SERVED this Canon, but no more  
I know about his science than before.  
All that I had I have quite lost thereby;  
And, God knows, so have many more than I.  
Where I was wont to be right fresh and gay  
Of clothing and of other good array,  
Now may I wear my old hose on my head;  
And where my color was both fresh and red,  
Now it is wan and of a leaden hue;  
Whoso this science follows, he shall rue.  
And from my toil yet bleary is my eye,  
Behold the gain it is to multiply!  
That slippery science has made me so bare

That I've no goods, wherever I may fare;  
And I am still indebted so thereby  
For gold that I have borrowed, truthfully,  
That while I live I shall repay it never.  
Let every man be warned by me for ever!  
And any man who casts his lot thereon,  
If he continue, I hold his thrift gone.  
So help me God, thereby he shall not win,  
But empty purse and have his wits grow thin.  
And when he, through his madness and folly,  
Has lost his own, by willing jeopardy,  
Then will he incite others, many a one,  
To lose their wealth as he himself has done.  
For unto scoundrels it's a pleasant thing  
Their fellows in distress and pain to bring,  
Thus was I taught once by a learned clerk.  
Of that no matter, I'll speak of our work. . . .

Why tell you what proportions of things went  
In working out each new experiment,  
As five ounces, or six, it may well be,  
Of silver, or some other quantity?  
Or tell you all the names, my memory fails,  
Of orpiment, burnt bones, and iron scales  
That into powder we ground fine and small?  
Or in an earthen pot how we put all,  
And salt put in, and also pepper dear,  
Before these powders that I speak of here,  
And covered all these with a plate of glass,  
And of the various other gear there was?  
And of the sealing of the pot and glass,  
So that the air might no way from it pass?  
And of the slow fire and the forced also,  
Which we made there, and of the care and woe  
That we took in our matter's sublimating,  
And in calcining and amalgamating  
Quicksilver, which is known as mercury crude?  
For all our skill, we never could conclude.  
Our orpiment and sublimed mercury,  
Our litharge that we ground on porphyry,  
Of each some certain ounces—it is plain

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

Naught helped us, all our labor was in vain,  
Neither the gases that by nature rose  
Nor solid matter either—none of those  
Might, in our working, anything avail.  
For lost was all our labor and travail,  
And all the cost, the devil's own to pay,  
Was lost also, for we made no headway. . . .

Ah no! Let be; the old philosopher's stone  
Is called elixir, which we seek, each one;  
For had we that, then were we safe enow.  
But unto God in Heaven do I vow,  
For all our art, when we've done all things thus,  
And all our tricks, it will not come to us.  
The thing has caused us to spend all we had,  
For grief of which almost we should go mad,  
Save that good hope comes creeping in the heart,  
Supposing ever, though we sorely smart,  
The elixir will relieve us afterward;  
The tension of such hope is sharp and hard. . . .  
But everything that glisters like fine gold  
Is not gold, as I've often heard it told;  
And every apple that is fair to eye  
Is yet not sound, whatever hucksters cry;  
And even so, that's how it fares with us:  
For he that seems the wisest, by Jesus,  
Is greatest fool, when proof is asked, in brief;  
And he that seems the truest is a thief;  
That shall you know ere I from you do wend,  
When of my tale I've made at length an end.

## PART II

There is a canon of religion known  
Among us, who'd contaminate a town,  
Though 'twere as great as Nineveh the free,  
Rome, Alexandria, Troy, and others three.  
His tricks and all his infinite treacherousness  
No man could write down fully, as I guess,  
Though he should live unto his thousandth year.  
In all this world for falsehood he's no peer;

For in his terms he will so twist and wind  
And speak in words so slippery of kind,  
When he communicates with any wight,  
That he soon makes a fool of him outright,  
Unless it be a devil, as he is.  
Full many a man has he beguiled ere this,  
And will, if he may live a further while;  
And yet men walk and ride full many a mile  
To seek him out and have his acquaintance,  
Naught knowing of his treacherous simulance.  
And if you care to listen to me here,  
I'll make the proof of what I say quite clear.

But most religious canons, just and true,  
Don't think I'm slandering your house, or you,  
Although my tale may of a canon be.  
Some rogue's in every order, pardon me,  
And God forbid that for one rascal's sake  
Against a group we condemnation make.  
To slander you is nowise my intent,  
But to correct what is amiss I'm bent.  
This tale I tell here not alone for you,  
But even for others, too; you know well how  
Among Christ's twelve disciples there was not  
One to play traitor, save Iscariot.  
Then why should all the rest be put to blame  
Who guiltless were? Of you I say the same.  
Save only this, if you will list to me,  
If any Judas in your convent be,  
Remove the man betimes, I counsel you,  
Lest shame or loss or trouble should ensue.  
And be displeased in nothing, I you pray,  
But hear what on this matter I may say.

In London was a priest, an annua-leer \*  
Who had therein dwelt many a quiet year,  
A man so pleasant and so serviceable  
To the goodwife who shared with him her table,  
That she would never suffer him to pay  
For board or clothing, went he ever so gay;  
Of spending-silver, too, he had enow.

\* A priest employed in singing anniversary masses

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

No matter; I'll proceed as I said, now,  
And tell about the canon all my tale,  
Who gave this priest good cause to weep and wail.

This canon false, he came, upon a day  
Into the chaplain's chamber, where he lay,  
Beseeching him to lend him a certain  
Amount in gold, the which he'd pay again.  
"Lend me a mark," said he, "for three days, say,  
And when that time's done, I will it repay.  
And if you find me false, I shall not reck  
If, on a day, you hang me by the neck!"

This priest brought him a mark, and quickly, too,  
Whereat this canon thanked him, said adieu,  
And took his leave and went forth on his way,  
And brought the money back on the third day,  
And to the priest he gave his gold again,  
Whereof this priest was wondrous glad, 'tis plain.

"Truly," he said, "it no wise bothers me  
To lend a man a noble, or two, or three,  
Or any modest thing that is my own,  
To him who has the disposition shown  
That in no wise will he forgo to pay;  
To such a man I never can say nay."

"What!" cried this canon, "Should I be untrue?  
Nay, that for me would be a thing quite new.  
Truth is a thing that I will ever keep  
Unto that day, at last, when I shall creep  
Into my grave, or otherwise God forbid!  
Trust this as surely as you trust your creed.  
And, sir," said he, "out of my privity,  
Since you have been so very good to me,  
And showed to me so great a nobleness,  
Somewhat to quit you for your kindness,  
I'll show to you, and if you'd learn it here,  
I'll teach you plainly all the methods dear  
I use in working at philosophy.

"Sir," this to the priest, "let your man be gone  
For quicksilver, that we have some anon;  
And let him bring us ounces two or three;  
And when he comes, just so soon shall you see

A wondrous thing you've never seen ere this."

"Sir," said the priest, "it shall be done, ywis."

He bade his servant go to fetch them all,  
And since the lad was ready at his call,  
He got him forth and came anon again  
With this quicksilver, truly to explain,  
And gave these ounces three to the canon;  
And he took them and laid them fairly down,  
And bade the servant coals to go and bring,  
That he might get to work with everything.

The coals at once were brought, and all was well;  
And then this canon took a crucible  
Out of his bosom, showing it to the priest.  
"This instrument," said he, "you see—at least  
Take in your hand, and put yourself therein  
An ounce of quicksilver, and here begin,  
And in God's name, to be philosopher!  
There are but few to whom I would proffer  
To make my science clear and evident.  
For you shall learn here, by experiment,  
That this quicksilver will I mortify  
Right in your sight anon, without a lie,  
And make it as good silver and as fine  
As any that's in your purse or in mine,  
Or elsewhere, aye, and make it malleable;  
Otherwise hold me false, unfit as well  
Among good folk for ever to appear.  
I have a powder here that cost me dear,  
Shall do all this, for it's the root of all  
My craft; you'll see what shall therewith befall.  
Dismiss your man and let him stay without,  
And shut the door fast while we are about  
Our secret work, that no man may espy  
The way we work in this philosophy."

All was then done as canon had decreed;  
This servant took himself straight out, indeed,  
Whereat his master barred the door anon,  
And to their labor quickly they were gone.

The priest, at this damned canon's ordering,  
Upon the fire anon did set this thing,

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

And blew the fire and busied him full fast;  
Within the crucible the canon cast  
A powder (I know not whereof it was  
Compounded, whether of chalk, or maybe glass,  
Or something else—it was not worth a fly)  
To blind the priest with; and he bade him high  
The coals to pile the crucible above.  
“In token of how much I bear you love,”  
This canon said, “your own two hands, and none  
Other, shall do this thing that shall be done.”  
“Thank you,” the priest replied, and was right glad,  
And heaped the coals up as the canon bade.  
And while he labored thus, this fiendish wretch,  
This canon false—may him the foul Fiend fetch!—  
Out of his bosom took a beechen coal,  
Wherein right cunningly he’d bored a hole  
In which, before, he’d put of silver limail  
An ounce, and which he’d stopped up, without fail,  
With blackened wax, to keep the filings in.

*[By means of such deceits the canon and the innocent priest  
“create” three silver rods.]*

And then the canon said: “Let us be gone  
With these three plates, the which we have so wrought,  
To some goldsmith, to learn if they’re worth aught.  
For by my faith, I wouldn’t, for my hood,  
Have them, save they are silver fine and good,  
And that immediately proved shall be.”

Unto the goldsmith, then, with these tains three,  
They went, and put the metal in assay  
By fire and hammer; no man could say nay,  
But they were silver, as they ought to be.

This foolish priest, who was more glad than he?  
Never was gladder bird for dawn of day,  
Nor nightingale in season of the May,  
Nor was there ever one more fain to sing;  
Nor lady happier in caroling  
Or speaking much of love and woman’s meed;  
Nor knight in arms to do a hardy deed  
To stand in graces of his lady dear—



Than was the priest this sorry craft to hear;  
And to the canon thus he spoke and said:  
"For love of God, Who for us all was dead,  
And as I may requite it unto you,  
What shall this recipe cost? Come, tell me now?"

"By 'r Lady," said this canon, "it is dear,  
I warn you well; for now in England here  
One friar and I are all who can it make."

"No matter," said he, "now, sir, for God's sake,  
What shall I pay? Oh, tell me this, I pray!"

"Truly," said he, "it is right dear, I say;  
Sir, in one word, if this thing you will have,  
You shall pay forty pounds, so God me save!  
And were it not for friendship shown ere this  
To me, you should pay more than that, ywis."

This priest the sum of forty pounds anon  
In nobles fetched, and gave them, every one,  
To this said canon for this said receipt;  
His business was all fraud and all deceit.

"Sir priest," he said, "I do not care to lose  
My secret craft, and I would 'twere kept close;  
So, as you love me, keep it privily;  
For if men knew all of my subtlety,  
By God above, they'd have so great envy  
Of me, because of my philosophy,  
I should be slain, there'd be no other way."

"Nay, God forbid!" replied the priest. "What say?  
Far rather would I spend all coin, by gad,  
That I possess (and else may I grow mad!)  
Than that you fall in any such distress."

"For your good will, I wish you all success,"  
Replied the canon, "farewell, many thanks."

He went, and ne'er the priest this mountebank's  
Face saw thereafter; and when this priest would  
Make his own test, at such time as he could,  
Of this receipt, farewell! it would not be!  
Lo, thus bajaped and thus beguiled was he! . . .

And thus do I conclude: Since God in Heaven  
Wills that philosophers shall not say even

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

How any man may come upon that stone,  
I say, as for the best, let it alone.  
For whoso makes of God his adversary,  
To work out anything that is contrary  
To what He wills, he'll surely never thrive,  
Though he should multiply while he's alive.  
And there's the end; for finished is my tale.  
My God's salvation to no good man fail!  
Amen.

### *The Manciple's Prologue*

DO YOU NOT KNOW where stands a little town  
That's called by all about Bob-up-and-down,  
Under the Blean, down Canterbury way?  
There did our Host begin to jape and play,  
And he said: "Sirs, what! Dun is in the mire! \*  
Is there no man, then, who, for prayer or hire,  
Will wake our comrade who's so far behind?  
A thief might easily rob him and bind.  
See how he's nodding! See, now, by Cock's bones,  
As if he'd fall down from his horse at once.  
Is that a Cook of London, with mischance?  
Make him come forward, he knows his penance,  
For he shall tell a tale here, by my fay,  
Although it be not worth a bunch of hay.  
Awake, you Cook," cried he, "God give you sorrow!  
What ails you that you sleep thus? It's good morrow!  
Have you had fleas all night, or are you drunk? . . .  
The Cook, who was all pale and nothing red,  
Said to our Host: "So may God my soul bless,  
As there is on me such a drowsiness,  
I know not why, that I would rather sleep  
Than drink a gallon of best wine in Cheap."  
"Well," said the Manciple, "if 'twill give ease  
To you, Sir Cook, and in no way displease  
The folk that ride here in this company,  
And if our Host will, of his courtesy,

\* The name of an old parlor game

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

I will, for now, excuse you from your tale.  
For in good faith, your visage is full pale,  
Your eyes are bleary also, as I think,  
And I know well your breath right sour does stink,  
All of which shows that you are far from well;  
No flattering lies about you will I tell.  
See how he yawns. Just look, the drunken wight,  
As if he'd swallow all of us outright.  
Now close your mouth, man, by your father's kin;  
Ah, may Hell's devil set his foot therein!  
Your cursed breath will soon infect us all;  
Fie, stinking swine, fie! Evil you befall!  
Ah, take you heed, sirs, of this lusty man.  
Now, sweet sir, would you like to ride at fan? \*  
It seems to me you're in the proper shape!  
You've drunk the wine that makes a man an ape,  
And that is when a man plays with a straw."

The Cook grew wroth, for this had touched the raw,  
And at the Manciple he nodded fast  
For lack of speech, and him his horse did cast,  
And there he lay till up the rest him took,  
Which was a feat of riding for a cook!  
Alas! That he had kept not to his ladle!  
For ere he was again within his saddle,  
There was a mighty shoving to and fro  
To life him up, and hugeous care and woc,  
So all unwieldly was this sorry ghost.  
And to the Manciple then spoke our Host:  
"Since drink has got such utter domination  
Over this fellow here, by my salvation,  
I think that badly he would tell his tale.  
For whether wine or old or musty ale  
Is what he's drunk, he speaks all thorough his nose;  
He snorts hard and with cold he's lachrymose.  
Also he has more than enough to do  
To keep him and his nag out of the slough;  
And if he fall down off his horse again,  
We'll all have quite enough of labor then  
In lifting up his heavy drunken corse.  
Tell on your tale, he matters not, of course.

\* An ancient tiltyard game

## THE CANTERBURY TALES

"Yet, Manciple, in faith, you are not wise  
Thus openly to chide him for his vice.  
Some day he'll get revenge, you may be sure,  
And call you like a facon to the lure;  
I mean he'll speak of certain little things,  
As, say, to point out in your reckonings  
Things not quite honest, were they put to proof."  
"Nay," said the Manciple, "that were ill behoof!  
So might he easily catch me in his snare.  
Yet would I rather pay him for the mare  
Which he rides on than have him with me strive;  
I will not rouse his rage, so may I thrive!  
That which I said, I said as jesting word;  
And know you what? I have here, in a gourd,  
A draught of wine, yea, of a good ripe grape,  
And now anon you shall behold a jape.  
This Cook shall drink thereof, sir, if I may;  
On pain of death he will not say me nay!"

And certainly, to tell it as it was,  
Out of this gourd the Cook drank deep, alas!  
What need had he? He'd drunk enough that morn.  
And when he had blown into this said horn,  
He gave the Manciple the gourd again;  
And of that drink the Cook was wondrous fain,  
And thanked him then in such wise as he could.

Then did our Host break into laughter loud,  
And said: "I see well it is necessary,  
Where'er we go, good drink with us we carry;  
For that will turn rancor and all unease  
To accord and love, and many a wrong appease.

"O Bacchus, thou, all blessed be thy name  
Who canst so turn stern earnest into game!  
Honor and thanks be to thy deity!  
Concerning which you'll got no more from me.  
Tell on your tale, good Manciple, I pray."

"Well, sir," said he, "now hear what I will say."

*[The Manciple's Tale is an ancient myth which explains why crows are black. This is followed by The Parson's Tale, the last of the series. This last tale, the longest of all, is a prose sermon on penitence, with an emphasis upon the seven sins.]*

*The Maker of This Book Takes His Leave*

NOW DO I PRAY all those who hear this little treatise, or read it, that, if there be within it anything that pleases them, they thank Our Lord Jesus Christ, from Whom proceeds all understanding and all goodness.

And if there be anything that displeases them, I pray them, also, that they impute it to the fault of my ignorance and not to my intention, which would fain have better said if I had had the knowledge. For our Book says, "All that is written is written for our instruction;" and that was my intention.

Wherefore I meekly beseech you that, for the sake of God's mercy, you pray for me that Christ have mercy upon me and forgive me my trespasses—and especially for my translations and the writing of worldly vanities, the which I withdraw in my retractations: as, the book of *Troilus*; also the book of *Fame*; the book of *The Nineteen Ladies*; *The Book of the Duchess*; the book of *Saint Valentine's Day of the Parliament of Fowls*; *The Tales of Canterbury*, those that tend toward sin; the book of *The Lion*; and many another book, were they in my remembrance; and many a song and many a lecherous lay,—as to which may Christ, of His great mercy, forgive me the sin.

But for the translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione*, and other books of legends of saints, and homilies, and of morality and devotion—for those I thank Our Lord Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother and all the saints of Heaven; beseeching them that they, henceforth unto my life's end, send me grace whereof to bewail my sins, and to study for the salvation of my soul:—and grant me the grace of true penitence, confession, and expiation in this present life; through the benign grace of Him Who is King of kings and Priest over all priests, Who redeemed us with the precious blood of His heart; so that I may be one of those, at the day of doom, that shall be saved: *Qui cum patre, etc.*

*Here ends the book  
of the Tales of Canterbury,  
written by Geoffrey Chaucer,  
on whose soul  
may Jesus Christ have mercy.  
Amen.*

